1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

then come with us when we leave tomorrow to gather *tsi*. He will hunt from that place and get us some meat.'

The ritual elements in the wedding ceremony, in so far as we observed, were as follows: (1) carrying the bride so that her feet do not touch the ground; (2) covering her head so that the sun does not shine upon it; (3) waiting till the sun has set before taking her to the wedding scherm; (4) the fact that the scherm is specially built and set apart from the others; (5) anointing with fat; (6) painting a design on the forehead and cheeks with powdered red stone; (7) lighting the wedding fire with brands from the fires of the bride's and groom's parents.

Apart from the third and seventh, all these elements occur also in the Ceremony of the First Menstruation, a more elaborate and prolonged ceremony from which the /Kung wedding ceremony undoubtedly derives. The design on the face is the same; the girl's feet must not touch the ground from the instant her first menstruation begins to the end of the period, when she is washed and anointed with both eland or other fat and the oil of the *tsi* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch).[1] When the girl is taken to her special scherm or moved out of it to urinate or defecate she is carried on the back of a kinswoman. A kaross over her head shields her from the sun whether she is sitting in the scherm or being carried out.

Our endeavour to bring to light the meaning of the ritual elements yielded little. The meaning or origin of the design on the face, I was convinced, was not withheld but lost to memory, lore or myth. 'It is our custom' was all the people could tell me.

About the ritual of the feet not touching the ground, the custom frequently observed by divine kings and menstruating girls, the /Kung had no more illumination. They think that the carrying is the overcoming of the girl's symbolized modesty about going to the arms of her bridegroom, which she should properly feign even if she is eager to go, and her reluctance to separate from her own family: I think that when the attendants take hold of the bride and groom by the arm and pull them a little they symbolize the overcoming of reluctance and modesty and perhaps there is even a vestige of bride capture in that gesture, but of the feet not touching the ground the meaning is lost. Obviously, however, in this society the bride is equated to the menstruating girl. In the past the girl's wedding and her first menstruation may have been celebrated at one time.

The /Kung say that the sun is death-giving. When the three months of life-giving rains are past, the sun dries up the water pools. It kills the fresh leaves and fruits, dries the roots and berries, and would scorch the people if they did not find shade and dig shallow pits and lie in them covered lightly with sand which they have moistened with their urine for coolness. They pity the morning star, the *kuli |gaishay*, which crosses the sky all day ahead of the sun, has no branches to carry for shade and cannot turn aside to rest under a tree. The sun is a 'death thing' and the bride is shielded from it.

The most important element of behaviour with respect to kinship in the wedding

[1] Robert Story, *Some Plants Used by the Bushmen in Obtaining Food and Water*, Department of Agriculture, Division of Botany, Union of South Africa, Botanical Survey, Memoir No. 30, 1958, p. 25. Dr. Story was a member of the 1955 and 1957 expeditions. We gratefully acknowledge whatever botanical identifications we mention as his.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

tion is not necessary. ' A wife can get tired of loving her husband ', we were told, ' and just tell him to go away. '

We learned about seven divorces only in our sample. The middle-aged Khuan//a, the mother of the bridegroom, /Gunda, had left her first husband to marry her lover. Another middle-aged woman left her husband because he was on the point of marrying a second wife. Jealousy between the two young wives at Gam, lamented in song by the young husband, had been the cause of the third. The whims of young girls caused others. A girl named /Ungka, married to a considerably older man, hated him though he was good to her and gave her oil and ornaments for her hair. She cut off her hair and threw it, ornaments and all, into the fire. She thrust her head into the ashes and made herself filthy. In another instance, the girl took offence the first night of her marriage and left her young husband next day, to his painful chagrin. The lenient and patient parents of these girls arranged other marriages. Di/ai, the mother of the bride /Nai, and now the wife of Gao, the medicine man in Band 1, was divorced from two former husbands in her youth. And /U, her sister, while still very young had been persuaded by ≠Toma to leave her tall young husband from Gam and to marry him.

Our data on frequency of divorce are too scant to be significant. We have merely the impression that there seems to be some tendency for couples to separate while they are young and in whatever adolescent turbulence the /Kung experience, but that, on the other hand, there is considerable stability in marriage once a compatible mate is found. At least, no divorces occurred between 1952 and 1959 in eight of the bands of our sample. We lack data on the others.

Young children of divorced parents remain with the mother. As they grow to adolescence the girls usually stay with their mothers, the boys may go to their fathers or stay with their mothers or spend some time with each.

Although the /Kung do not consider divorce reprehensible, they deplore it. Divorce is untoward, disruptive; it can cause trouble. Anything other than peace and harmony in human relations makes the /Kung uneasy.

Extra-marital sexual relations

Murdock points out that ' Our own culture includes a blanket taboo against fornication, an over-all prohibition of all sexual intercourse outside of the marital relationship.'[1] He goes on to say that our society is highly aberrant in this and that ' from available evidence [however] it seems unlikely that a general prohibition of sex relations outside of marriage occurs in as many as five per cent of the peoples of the earth '.[2]

/Kung society has an over-all prohibition against any sexual relations outside of marriage with one exception. It makes no requirements such as sexual hospitality or *jus primae noctis*. It makes no provision for sexual access to certain categories of kin or affines outside of marriage, such as BrWi. Premarital unchastity, unchastity of widows, and prostitution are not among their social conventions. But */kamheri*, though not required, is either fully permitted or tolerated as not a very bad thing; I never reached certainty as to which of these attitudes the society adopted.

/Kamheri means that two men may agree to exchange wives temporarily, provided

[1] Murdock, op. cit., p. 263.

[2] Ibid., p. 264.

/135 cont./

114 accounts for the incompleteness and gaps in my data, defects which make themselves felt particularly in the last chapter. Thus, I could neither do the important section on linguistics nor make a collection of ethnological materials.

The observations and researches that I did undertake were repeatedly tested for their correctness to the best of my abilities. The possibility of error, of course, is nevertheless admitted without reservation.

Aminuis, August, 1908. Kaufmann.

General Observations

144 It is my conviction that the ǂAuin, as well as all other Kalahari Bushmen, do not represent a homogeneous race, but rather a people or, better still, several peoples who have lost their original character through mixture with one another and above all with peoples of other races (Bantu). At any rate, a number of Bergdamara [Bergdama] or Herero decidedly gives a stronger impression of derivation from the same mold than do the same number of Bushmen.

197 The linguistic differentiation of the individual tribes is sometimes so great that mutual intelligibility is impossible.

171 182 The apparent cultural homogeneity is probably based on the uniformity of the landscape that everywhere surrounds them and on the living conditions (Kalahari culture).

144 171 There is no doubt that an intimate relationship of some kind exists between the Hottentot and Bushmen. It may be that the Bushmen are degenerate Hottentot with some admixture of foreign blood, or, on the other hand, that the Hottentot are Bushmen with foreign admixture who have emancipated themselves from the Kalahari culture.

[114] 144 197 I believe I shall not be guilty of an indiscretion if I report that the ethnographer Dr. Pöch shares this view with me. In a private communication he writes to me from Kamelpan

/146 cont./

224 pitfall is put on the trail. I have never seen larger pitfalls for big game in the Auin region.

The jumping hare is held fast in its burrow (not pulled out!) [171] [411] and pressed against the end of it with the well-known angling stick of the South Africans, which among the Auin displays no special characteristics. A vertical hole is then dug from above, and the animal is taken out.

Hyrax. The exits of the burrow are blocked and then an opening is made (that is, dug in from the top).

Leopards are hunted only when several keen dogs are available. The animal is then covered by the dogs and killed with spears by several Bushmen. Without dogs, the Bushman dispenses with this sport, which every expert will understand.

The cheetah is pursued on foot by several people until it is exhausted and then killed with clubs and spears.

Hyenas are not hunted. They are smoked out only when a brood with young animals has been found in a hole in the ground, and the asphyxiated animals are then dug out.

The aardwolf is suffocated in his burrow by smoke and then dug out.

The jackal is not hunted since the Bushman supposedly does not get it anyway.

The wild dog (Lycaon pictus) is not hunted. I believe that in case of an encounter between the two the Bushman himself would usually constitute the game.

In isolated cases the skin of an ostrich, with a stick placed [237] in the neck, is used as a mask. The hunter slips into the skin after he has colored his legs with chalky soil. This mask is used [223] for hunting ostriches as well as other types of game.

The Bushman is unable to make other masks since he cannot [281] soften the skins of larger animals without changing their natural appearance. At the same time, the Auin described other masks to me so accurately that I could not doubt that their manufacture and use was known to them.

The characteristic sound of the young springbok, duiker, and klipbok is imitated with the lips while the nose is held with the index and middle finger.

The frightened scream of the young gemsbok and wildebeest is likewise imitated.

/149 cont./

249 [177] [273] The Auin have copied this procedure[1] from the Bergdamara of Oas.

The process of fermentation is unknown.

[1][i.e., of growing hemp.-Analyst]

K. Toys, Games, Sport

524 Little bows and arrows serve as children's toys.

A Chinese puzzle game is played by young and old, men and women alike. I have chosen the above designation because of the nature of the game.

The partners sit opposite each other in a crouch.

Both tap their thighs with both hands in rhythmic alternation and at the same time murmur meaningless inarticulate sounds.

One partner then suddenly extends his right or left hand toward the other or makes some other kind of motion with his hand. The point, now, is that the opponent must immediately extend the same hand or respond to the given motion with a similar one; in short, he must not allow himself to be confused. [Fig. 11 appears here.]

If, for instance, the opponent motions with the wrong hand or makes any other mistake, his partner very briefly signals his advantage by making a throwing motion with his hand or by striking his right index finger on his left fist (intended to signify: "I am breaking his, that is, the opponent's, head in two"). The game is not interrupted by these rapid signals.

/150/ The entire game is played at a fairly rapid speed.

Sometimes several men sit across from one another and take turns in the matches. Even little boys take part in the game of the adults.

[171] The Herero and Bergdamara play a similar game. The Auin, however, maintain that it is an original Bushman game.

Prizes are not awarded. They play purely for the "glory."

525 Game of chance: this bears great resemblance to the Chinese puzzle game, except that the participants also tap the ground with their knees. The "killing," that is, defeat of the opponent, is indicated by a loud exclamation without interrupting the progress of the game. The stakes (for instance, tobacco, food)

/150 cont./

526 there is a good supply of food, in other words, only during the crop season (rainy season). Sometimes, also, a heap of sand about one and a half meters high is piled up and one must throw over it.

The game is played for hours by boys and men with great shouts of joy.

[171] [177] This sport[1] is likewise practiced by the Kaffir and Herero. The Auin state that it is not an original Bushman game.

Wrestling (see Photo. 34). This seems to have a somewhat more serious character, since the victor deals severely with the loser and has nothing to do with him for a long time. Nonetheless, the Bushmen designate it as a game.

Shooting with bow and arrow (unpoisoned arrow tip toward the front). The target is a tschama or any other soft object, in order to spare the arrow. One by one, the competitors shoot from the same place. The winner receives a prize (food, a knife, or the like).

Spear throwing. The target (tschama) is placed on a stick planted in the ground.

At a distance of 20 meters, only one throw out of 30, performed by six men, hit the target.

The target was an insert from a flour box.

Prizes are offered.

Riding (see Photo. 35). Two men form a "horse," the third "rides." (Gabi, "to ride.")

[1] [i.e., of stick throwing.--Analyst]

L. Music

534 Musical bows of various sizes made of "rosinkis wood" with animal tendons. The striker is made of any kind of wood.

I have a suspicion that the two Auin in Photograph 38 cheated a bit, because one of them has a shooting bow while the other has taken up any old stick. It is likely that just at that moment they had no proper musical bow at hand. At the same time, of course, it is true that one can make "music" on any strung bow. This music, by the way, is clearly audible to other people, not only to the player.

533 /151/ There are no special musicians. On the other hand, one does find certain individuals who clearly take more joy in

/152 cont./

415 Mortars and pestles, as well as spoons of wood, are made (see Photo. 18).

[287] Painting and bark working are unknown.

171 The preparation of hides is the same as that practiced by the
281 Hottentot, Herero, Bergdamara, and Betschuana. Hence, I shall dispense with a description of the process.

The women's cosmetic described above is used to dye cloth-
281 ing made of hides. The dye is rubbed on with the ball of the
386 hand and is comparatively waterproof.

To be sure, it is questionable whether this process may be called "dyeing." The hides are already red from the tanning process, and the cosmetic scarcely changes the color. Perhaps it is better regarded as impregnation or greasing.

386 /153/ The colored stones that are pulverized and mixed with
438 fat to make the cosmetic are dug up near Kaitsaub (45 kilometers south of Gobabis) by the Hai//um Bushmen residing there, and they constitute an article of trade. [Fig. 12 appears here.]

283 The beautiful and durable cordage of the Auin is made of the fiber of a wild agave. It looks so neat and clean that one might suspect its origin to have been in a European rope factory rather than in a Bushman settlement.

The cords are made in various strengths and are used for all kinds of purposes, mainly for the game snares.

Their manufacture is very simple and proceeds very rapidly.

The leaf is softened by tapping with a wooden stick, and it is then placed on a firm base. One hand holds a pointed stick or a blunt knife firmly on the leaf, while the other hand draws the leaf against the vertically held knife and toward the body. After this has been repeated several times, the strong fibers remain and are then rolled together into cords of the thickness and length desired.

Industrial use of Bushman cordage does not seem impossible to me.

412 As a drill, the lance point or an iron knife is used, frequently red-hot.

325 Only pieces of iron found accidentally are worked. The extraction of iron from ore is unknown.

Charcoal made from the giraffe acacia is the preferred fuel
[372] for ironworking.

[Text continues on page 43]

ANGOLA !KUNG

[5 cont.]

105 Ninde. They have stopped collecting veldkost and confine themselves to hunting, exchanging the products for vegetables and the like from the Mabunda [Bunda] and Luchazi, with whom they have a dependent relationship. Their time divisions are the same as those among the !Kung in the south.

The Angola Bushmen have two or three wives. Some of the married couples were cousins.

Each household has a number of calabashes, a few baskets, and a clay pot. Wooden pestles are used for pounding the grain, as in the south.

Among the Bushmen of Kunzumbia, the ear lobes and nasal septum are pierced. All adult men have tattooing on the forehead with vertical lines between the eyes. Furthermore, on the arm and chest they wear so-called "flesh marks" (2) [6] to

[171]

2. These are also found in Ongandjera and along the Natakanako Pan.

record the big game they have killed. The women, too, are tattooed. As weapons, besides bows and arrows, they have the kirri and a short knife. Spears are rare. Ironware, of course, is obtained in trade from the Bantu for the most part, although the Bushmen in Musombu already have their own forge.

[114] The rain dance is described by Bleek just as I have witnessed it. The women and girls stand in a group on one side, singing and clapping their hands, while the men also sing, but do not clap, and perform rhythmic movements with the upper part of the body and arms. They sing:

//nwa-se //kabama //gu a i-i New moon, come out, give us water
//nwa-se tatana //gu a i-i New moon, thunder water down for us
//nwa-se tala u//gu a i-i New moon, throw water down for us.

For the boys' initiation, the candidates withdraw into the forest with three medicine men for a month. There they dance at night, and occasionally the spirit Huwe appears at the dance. There is also a girl's initiation, and at that time another spirit, //Gaua, is supposed to lead the dance. The tattooing of the girls is done in his honor.

[9 cont.]

586 Up to the birth of the first child, the marriage is dissolvable, but not thereafter. Monogamy is the rule; where
595 there is polygamy, the first wife is the "head wife." The eldest
596 brother of the head wife is the family head. The boys belong to
611 the family of the wife, and the daughters to the family of the father.

582 The strictest exogamy prevails. Son and daughter may marry neither into the father's kin group nor into the mother's
[587] kin group. On the other hand, a young widow is usually married by one of her brothers-in-law.

551 The following kin-group names were reported to me: !Nui-a, Dai, ǂben, orasi, Gombe, χ'am, χ'am-Kha.

805 The following times of the day are differentiated:

eruba, time before sunrise.

!khoasa, time of sunrise (N. khoa-am = to open, that is, the door for the sun is opened).

sorésa, "the sun shines."

sorésa ǂkam go, "the young sun goes," breakfast time. In effect, below the tropics one has the impression that the sun, after it has stood on the horizon for a while, moves toward the zenith with great speed.

sorésa !khoai go, "the sun goes back." Noon.

//gui-sa, "it declines (lies down)." Afternoon.

[512] ǂkhai-am-go, "to rise and go." After hunting or searching for veldkost, the Bushmen usually take a rest before it is time to go home and start cooking (late afternoon).

ǂkha-go, "to go through." (The sun goes through the gate of the night.) Dusk, sunset.

!khui-sa, to be evening.

dschu-ba, night (N. tsuχub).

821 These Bushmen have the idea that the old sun dies every night and a new, young sun appears the next morning. That the
● [171] moon dies every month and is resurrected again is a notion so widespread in Africa that it is really unnecessary to make special mention of it.

805 The year begins when a new rainy season sets in.

//hauba, "storms rise." Rainy season.

[13 cont.]

776 !Khuwa and Erob were the same. In any case, the expression Ellob used by these people comes from Outjo, where there are a number of Christian Bushmen.

!Khuwa lives in the heavenly house χ'ain !nao gároba.
[772] The people in heaven eat only large flies, !Khu !Khua-i. The figure /Nawas is unknown. The evil antagonist of Huwe, //Gauab, is also absent. These Bushmen, however, have the same doctrine
[774] of the two souls as the !Kung of the east.

775 When someone dies, he becomes the property of !Khuwa; he is a !Khunga. The actual soul, χ'aobe, goes to the heavenly house, remains there, and does nothing but eat large flies. From the bodies of the dead [14] arise the //gaua-i, which run around in the bush and stir up trouble. They correspond to the akwapungu
[171] and azizi of the Ovambo. "But the actual souls of the Ovambo and the Bushmen go different ways; those of the Ovambo go under the earth where they have their fields and herds, but those of the Bushmen go up." Since the missionary Mr. Kylves expressed the desire to make some detailed studies of the Bushmen himself, I gladly left this attractive field of study to my kind host.

197 Finally, a number of words indicate that these people
192 are to be included in the Hei//om-Nama group, a point which
[101] is very striking with respect to the !Kung elments in their world view.

German	Ukuambi Bushmen	Nama
Sun	shoreba	sóres
Moon	!háwa	//khab(*)
Stars	/nãmirõ-i	/gamiros
Dome of the sky	shorche	≠kanis
Earth	/huwa	!hub-eib
Lightning	/harabé	nawab
Thunder	!nau	!gurub(*)
Rain	≠nanuba	/awib(*)
Lion	χ'amba	χ'ami
Leopard	!kui-oba	!arub(*)
Large bird	anite	--
Dog	arib	arib
Boa constrictor	!aoba	--
Zebra	χorebe	--

[45]

Gastrointestinal Disorders

753 It is interesting to note that the doctrine of the importance [171] of the liver and gall bladder in the origin of disease, which we find among all primitive and civilized peoples up to the humoral medicine of the previous century, is already present among the Bushmen. When the gall bladder is full, one becomes sick and [755] vomits gall. Then the region of the liver is massaged, just as is [164] done in the case of liver pains. Enlargement of the liver as the result of chronic malaria is common. The moon, which dies [621] every month, also has gall sickness, and moonlight is the juice of the gall bladder vomited by it. Moonlight and gall are known [164] by the same word (goo). Spleen tumor is especially common 757 among children. They have no medicine against splenalgia. 278 They have no medicine for inducing vomiting. It is induced by putting the finger or a feather into the mouth. To stop vomiting, one chews little twigs of the goro tree. The bitter wood of the liana (χ'áǂ-χ'ãn) is chewed for stomach-ache. In case of con- [753] stipation the doctor must practice magic, for it is assumed that [755] the dsao have tied the stool in the intestine, and the doctor must loosen and extract the cord, just as in the case of an inflammation of the throat. The patient may not eat anything and drink very little. In case of diarrhea, even the bleeding kind, the same medicine is taken as in the case of stomach-aches. Intestinal 147 worms are unknown. We already know from earlier reports that the 262 gastrointestinal tract of the Bushman can take all kinds of things that we cannot take. As the result of habituation from early child- hood on, he can digest meat that has gone bad and the like, without any trouble (1). After a long period of hunger, he can consume

1. I myself witnessed a drastic example of this. I had brought a side of bacon from Swakopmund, which supposedly had been preserved for all eternity according to a special process. When I brought it out, it had a hideous smell, and in order to prevent the Bushmen from taking it and getting sick, I had it hung high on a tree. The

[54 cont.]

of various religions have found entry here. Among the Bushmen tribes I visited there is the common belief in a supreme good being, whose name varies. The people described here [55] call the supreme being X'u, "the lord" or "the great captain" (1). It is

[782]

1. According to Vedder, the supreme being is Huwe (Tsumeb). When the first veld fruits ripen, an offering is brought before sunrise. A freshly broken twig is inserted into a piece of wood with a hole bored through it. The people are seated in a circle, and the eldest passes around a tobacco or dacha pipe made out of a tubular bone.

the same expression that the Cape Hottentot used in speaking to the German traveler Kolbe, with the same significance and pronunciation 705 (2). The name could not have come from the

2. J. Schapera (The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa, 1930) has critically referred to my observations on this point. In this connection I must note: the "great captain" among the eastern !Kung may rightfully be designated as "supreme being." I have already given his characteristics in my earlier publications.

The spelling is correctly X'u. I use X' to designate a click that is even lower than "!". It is also found in other words, such as X'Ame = lion. Since not all publishers provide this character, I have sometimes been forced to write "Khu" or "Chu." This word, which the !Kung, too, translate as "lord" or "great captain," was already found, as Schapera indicates, among the Cape Hottentot in 1705 as Khourou = "Supreme Ruler" and "Great Chief" or "Great Captain"; Kolbe gives a quite analogous citation a little later, and Hahn reports of one old Nama, "The people say,

[CONTINUES ON p. 108 - ANALYST]

[55 cont.]

● 171
776
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if it is thundering, the Lord (Khub, i.e., Tsui//Goab) is speaking; he is scolding them" [cited in English], Schapera, ibid., p. 381.

[174]

The belief in a great captain was therefore common to the !Kung Bushmen and the Cape Hottentot, and the great age of the reports from the Cape exclude the possibility that missionary influence was at work here. Just as among the !Kung, this belief is apparently of very great antiquity among Miss Bleek's Naron and not simply taken over from the Christian Hottentot. In Ovamboland the concept X'u merges with Huwe, and I believe that J. Schapera, too, regards Huwe, Chuwe, and X'u as identical. The fact that the eastern !Kung have the belief in a supreme being was not discovered by me; rather, this discovery was made as early as 1910 by H. Vedder.

Everyone must be struck by the fact that there is substantial agreement between the reports concerning the heavenly house that I took down among the eastern !Kung and the data that H. Vedder supplies concerning the /Gamab of the Honigkaffir of the Otavi mountains. To be sure, these regions are also close to each other geographically. The question now arises: did the !Kung take this doctrine over from the Honigkaffir, as Schapera appears to assume, or is the reverse the case? Among the Bergdama of the central region, where I was able to carry out extensive studies, especially in the reservation of Okombahe, there is scarcely anything of these conceptions of the Honigkaffir. The Bergdama are a Negro tribe that has completely lost its original culture and language and for a long

[55 cont.]

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time had a dependent relationship with the Bushmen, whose quite miserable imitators they had in part become. Even today Bergdama who want to become witch doctors go from Windhoek and Okombahe to the !Kung in order to learn there. If the conceptions of the Honigkaffir reported by H. Vedder were indeed ancient Negro cultural traditions, then it should surely be possible to find parallels and, at least in the names referring to the beyond, traces of the old language. Almost always among the Bantu the world of the beyond lies under the earth, whereas among the Khoisan it is in the sky. For all these reasons, I draw the conclusion that the Honigkaffir have taken over the doctrine of /Gamab from the !Kung. The expression Erob or Elotse, which is to be found among several Bushman tribes, undoubtedly goes back to Christian Hottentot influence. The two-fold names of the supreme being among various groups in Ovamboland, on the other hand, allows one to conclude that here only one new name for a well-known conception found entry, and, to be sure, with such intensity that the Hei//om, at the Etosha Pan, for example, name their most important medicinal root the Erob root. Moreover, just as among the Honigkaffir, among the Hei//om of the Etosha Pan, too, it is /Gamab who sends thunder and lightning and who kills people with shooting stars. J. Schapera recognizes that the conception of Huwe, Thora, and the mantis as creator, as the giver of rain and success in hunting, and as the protector of human beings is common to all Bushmen (ibid., p. 195) and also has its analogue among the Hottentot. He seems to regard this being as a rain god, however.

[177]

[824]

[55 cont.]

114 //Gaua, whose name varies, stands opposite
● 171 him as an antagonist who does harm to human
776 beings. Schapera believes that the original
[775] designation //Gaua stood for the spirits of the dead. This is largely correct. My researches in various places, however, show that all kinds of noncorporeal beings are understood by the term //Gaua, in other words, spirits in our sense, and immaterial forces of all kind. The great captain, of course, is regarded as actually corporeal by the !Kung. P. W. Schmidt, on the other hand, has regarded this //Gaua as the original god in heaven. A comparison of the facts of the history of religion may support this view.

114 If I understand Schapera correctly, we
776 agree that a benign high deity is indeed pres-
771 ent among the Bushmen, but one that he does not want to designate as the supreme being. I maintain, however, that this being must be so designated in accordance with general usage.
[774] The peoples of the Khoisan group, according to the evidence of the prehistoric finds, have an active history behind them; the most diverse races live on in them, and their culture in its optimal adaptation to environmental conditions is to be regarded as a residual culture. It is therefore self-evident that their world view should have a syncretistic character, especially since religious ideas are cultural elements with definite tendencies to diffuse widely. Like all human beings, the Bushmen and other primitives have thoughts that are fundamentally the same as ours.
[773] Even the Bushman has a distinct need to discover causality, but this need is felt less with regard to causal or conditional explanations for given conditions and more with regard

[55 cont.] WHATEVER I COULD GET FROM MY
114 individual informants I took down with the
771 exactness of a trained scientist, faithful to
776 the letter and with due regard for all pre-
[124] cautions. From these notations I have drawn the inevitable conclusion that a benign supreme being is a reality in their world picture.

776 surrounding Hei//om tribes, [56] for they use the word Somseb.
771 We should sooner think of Huwe. Huwe or Hue was what the !Kung Bushmen of Tsumeb examined by Vedder called the supreme being. I also know the expression Chuwa from the Bushmen of
776 Ukuambi. This supreme being is conceived of in human form;
772 it looks like a Bushman and also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky in a house that has two floors; his wife, whose name is unknown, lives on the lower floor, as well as many children. The souls
[775] of the deceased live on the upper floor. "The house" (it is supposed to be similar to, but not entirely like a Bushman windscreen) "is hairy on the outside, like a caterpillar." There are various things up there, but only a single house, namely, that of the captain. Honey, crickets, and fat flies are there in great abundance. The great captain lives on them. In addition, there are a great many butterflies. The following are regarded as the
776 functions of this supreme being:

1. In the opinion of some, the great captain made the sun, moon, and everything. In the opinion of others, the highest of the spirits, /Nawa, did this.

2. The great captain calls the doctors to their calling and gives them supernatural power.

3. He is the lord of the rain and the lightning.

4. Through the highest of the spirits he sends luck on the hunt or on the search for veldkost.

5. When someone thinks or speaks ill of him, he punishes
[688] him with lightning. He is not concerned about the other activities of his Bushman children, however, unless someone swears falsely.
695 The Kung have a regular oath, and one of my informants reported
776 the following to me:

When a group goes hunting and one of the participants is

[56 cont.]

695 776 not seen for the duration of the hunt, he is suspected of having sneaked away. Then he swears by the great captain nu ǂxu, and all believe him.

776 Ordinarily, however, the great captain has everything taken care of by the highest of the spirits and lesser spirits. The chief concern of the Bushmen, therefore, is to stay in the good graces of these spirits, but the great captain does offer protection against all evil spirits, and for that reason people turn to him [782] with the following prayers in case of severe illness and before the start of a journey:

[57]

[539] ǂxu, ǂxu hũi mi, //kai tsao mi — Lord, Lord, help me, raise me.
to 'oba !khu !gaise ≠ani u mĩ — "the lord shall lead me well
/nãna /ge a — to the place,
!nore gana ti /ge a gana ti tsa — where I am going, and he shall
/Nane /ã mi tsu (1) — lead me back well, so that I come home safely."

1. Notation of the Dama interpreter.

[224] Before the hunt the doctors pray to the great captain for hunting luck. There is no doubt that the Bushmen conceive of this "great captain" as an all-powerful and at the same time benign being. His executive organ, as has been noted, is the highest of the Gauab. The latter is called "the Gauab" by the common people, but he has a name known only by the doctors, and saying it may have serious consequences. Since I finally [123] had the honor to be regarded as an equal by the doctors, I learned his name. He is called /Nawa. They were unable to give me an interpretation of this name, but Miss Bleek, from dance songs of the Angola Kung, reports the word /Nwa-se, supposedly an abbreviation for Nwima-se = new moon. According to this, we [174] might be able to see in this chief Gauab the high god of a lunar- [771] mythological religion which has been superimposed as a foreign element upon the primitive monotheism of the ǂxu or Huwe faith. As is always the case in such matters, the supreme being of the invading religion has been transformed into a more or less evil [171] principle. It also functions as such in the belief of the Nama and

[57 cont.]

776 Dama, and the translation of Gauab as "devil" comes from this
[771] circle of ideas. A baptized !Kung in /Nuiseb also told me that
the Bushmen had been made by the devil, for the latter, as the
[773] old doctors reported to me, had once said to things: "You shall
be a kudu, you an eland, you a Bushman," etc., and so every-
thing was. Among the !Kung Bushmen /Nawa is by no means al-
ways evil. He directly brings luck on the hunt, and a kind of
primitial offering is sent to him in that small pieces of the flesh
of the game are thrown into the fire.

/Nawa, however, usually also sends sickness, in part with,
and in part without the consent of the great captain. /Nawa is
neither in heaven nor on earth, but runs about on threads in the air,
where the other small spirits also run about. Whether or not /Nawa
[821] has a wife is unknown. The wind has no role in the tall bush
forest, but my experience among the Bushmen of the western
Kalahari and the Namib indicates that /Nawa is also connected
in some way with the wind, since his most personal appearance
is in the violent wind spouts, and among the Naukluft Bushmen
one is not supposed to speak ill of the wind because the Gauab
would overturn the windscreen.

Aside from /Nawa, there is a whole host of other small
spirits, such as those who are at the disposal of the great captain
[821] and /Nawa and live in the sky, where the stars are their campfires.
They are the ones who steal the soul from human beings and take
it to the great captain. Then there are those who, like /Nawa,
run to and fro on threads stretching between heaven and earth.
Very evil little spirits live in the water, and the forest and veld
are peopled by the little Gauab. These, however, are only the
[775] flesh-born spirits of deceased human beings. And with this we come
to

18. Doctrine of the Soul and Belief in Immortality

775 The life principle of human beings is the soul, cha. The
[774] same word also means heart. This cha is immortal. The Gauab
who live among the stars take it to the great captain's house. The
souls of all peoples, even those of the Whites, live there on the

[58 cont.]

[113] Specimens of Bushmen Folklore, London, 1910-11, pp. 10-13.

776 be especially significant. The !Kung at that time told of a being called /Chue, who transforms itself in turn into various fruit trees and veldkost plants, into a Herero, etc. One day he transformed himself into a //gui tree, his wife ate of it, the tree disappeared, and /Chue changed into a fly. Another time he even became a waterhole, then again a gecko; at night [59] he always changes back into a little human being. The Herero look for him, but cannot find him. /Chue then makes a fire and dies. His father sees this and then moves to his homeland on a large mountain called //Noa. We shall probably not go wrong if we identify this /Chue with Huwe. This Huwe, as is known, is sometimes equated with the great captain ǂ'u. In this old setting he also has distinct traits of Heiseb.

782 The !Kung who were W.H.J. Bleek's informants were also
[534] familiar with a prayer song addressed to the new moon. In accompaniment, they blew on trumpets made of antelope horns. (Bleek-Lloyd, ibid., p. 15.)

787 The old !Kung called the prophesy sticks /Chu, which evidently is the same name again as that of the great captain and is in agreement with Dornan's report concerning the Masarwa that Modimo himself spoke from the prophesy sticks.

755 Vedder reports that in case of illness a messenger is sent
769 to an ancestor's grave and prays: A dsi-dsi mi !hâ tĭ ǂ'ai-a? (Why is my son ill?) ǂnu /kôa (to live in health).

774 While my informants denied the presence of any animistic
825 conceptions, the old !Kung believe that certain snakes, lizards,
775 and antelope found in the vicinity of graves represent spirits of the
171 dead (1), as they do among the Bantu.

1. W.H.J. Bleek and L.C. Lloyd, ibid., p. 430.

[63 cont.]

764 [178] termite hills, sometimes in rock fissures, and commonly Betschuana [Tswana] style, in lateral niche graves. Besides food and water, a man's weapons are put in the grave with him, and for a woman, some ostrich eggs.

776 777 Now for the world view of the Masarwa. As Dornan reports, Thora is the very great one who [64] is above all things. He sends the rain and the game, veldkost and hunting luck. They commonly invoke Thora for luck on the hunt and thank him when they have had it (1).

[113] 1. P. Schebesta, "Die religiösen Anschauungen Südafrikas [The Religious View of South Africa]," Anthropos, XVIII-XIX, 1923-24.

776 [224] [782] Chapman reports that Bushmen who once had killed a rhinoceros sprinkled some dust on the animal's tail and eyes and at the same time murmured words of thanks to Thora.

The Bushmen are not entirely clear as to whether Thora is a spirit or not, in any case they have great respect for him. They believe that Thora makes all things, but they do not know where he lives or whether he is a person. The western tribes primarily use the word Huwe. The Tati, however, also know this word and regard Huwe as a good spirit who keeps away sickness, gives abundant food, and protects the Bushmen in times of danger. They call [782] upon him in need. The Sansoque say, Huwe ka hume ie ie [539] (Huwe, come and help us). Huwe, however, seems to be weaker than Thora and must turn to him for help. A Bushman song from Thuli goes: Tho-ra ba Hu-we ie ie (Thora, come to the aid of Huwe).

[171] [174] Among many Bushman tribes and also among the Hottentot, an evil principle, "Khauna," is known, a concept that stems from the times when the Bushmen and Hottentot were one people. The [773] Kalahari Bushmen are not certain whether Thora or Khauna made the first human beings.

825 Incidentally, the Kalahari Bushmen believe that men and animals can change their shapes; thus, for example, a person may appear as a leopard. In particular, springboks, baboons, and some snakes are regarded as human beings in another stage of their

[69 cont.] I have observed an analogous game among the Betschuana children in Epukiro.

524
[171]

The Elephant-Ostrich Game

Again a pile of sand serves as a substitute for a waterhole. Two boys come as elephants and want to drink. Two others imitate ostriches and will not let the elephants get water.

The Oxen Game

Three or four boys represent the oxen. One is regarded as the owner; another wants to steal them. After a little struggle, he gradually succeeds in doing so. Once he has stolen all of them, the game is over. (Compare the "ox stealing" among the Bergdama from Okombahe.) [Fig. 24 appears here.]

[532]

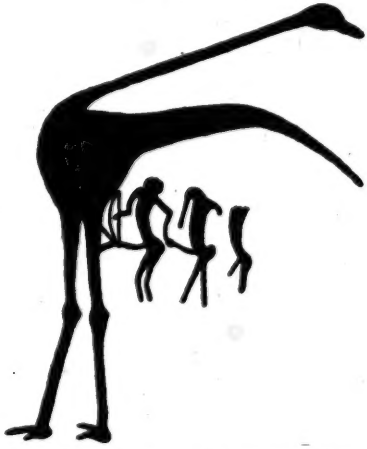


Fig. 24. Magical Contact between Hunters and Game (Salt River Valley, Kaofeld). From H. Obermaier and H. Kühn, Buschmannkunst [Bushman Art].

/246 cont./

142 147 171 The Herero, like the Bushmen, give the use of veld food, especially the onion known as unki, as the cause of this peculiarity. The attached photographs illustrate the swelling in the case of a Bushman (Fig. 3) and a Herero (Fig. 4).

142 The nose is sharply set off from the forehead and strikingly small. The bridge of the nose is so flat that in some cases one can scarcely speak of a bridge of the nose; the area between the cheekbones is an almost level surface. The tip /247/ of the nose is small and pointed slightly upward. The largest diameter of the nostrils runs diagonally. The lips are narrow in comparison with those of most Negroes; their color is almost exactly that of the surrounding skin of the face.

The teeth of the majority of individuals are in pretty good condition; among the 39 persons I examined, I found only 28 carious teeth. In comparison with a European, the extreme wear of the teeth is striking; it progresses with age and is so marked in old people that the teeth are worn down to the roots, again a consequence of the way of life dependent upon a root diet. The incisors very slightly point forward.

304 648 The Heikum do not have artificial deformities of the teeth. Several of those examined displayed the well-known Herero deformity (filing down the inner sides of the two central upper incisors and removal of the four lower incisors) [Figs. 3 and 4 appear here], which is explained by the fact that these Bushmen had been Herero slaves in their childhood and were marked in the Herero manner by their former masters.

142 The ear is of normal size; its outline is rounded, not bent at an angle. The ear lobe is always joined to the head.

In spite of general gauntness, the marked development of the abdomen in most cases is striking, even among the adults.

The female breast is conical in the case of individuals who have not borne children; the region around the nipple is usually separated by a gentle furrow from the rest of the breast. The color of the nipple area is deep brown. The nipple is raised.

[304] Circumcision is not practiced by either men or women. Among the Heikum and Kung women I did not find the abnormally pronounced development of the buttocks, known as steatopygia, which [144] is so common among Hottentot women. To my mind this is

/249 cont./

To indicate affirmation the head is thrown back and the
201 eyebrows are raised.

Otherwise, the physiognomic changes of expression are essentially like those of Europeans. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the Bushman's facial mobility is considerably greater than that of a European, and even quite weak emotions are expressed by lively gestures.

If I may be permitted, I should like to emphasize here a
194 peculiarity of voice among the Bushmen; among the women especially the voice seems to me abnormally high-pitched. In my opinion the speech of a Heikum woman is pitched several notes higher, on the average, than that of a Herero woman. Evidently this peculiarity is connected with the smallness of the larynx of the Heikum people.

The anthropometric figures presented above are doubtless much
141 smaller than comparable ones for the Herero, Nama, and
144 Bergdamara [Bergdama] living in the immediate vicinity of the Bushmen. Nonetheless, as regards smallness, the Heikum certainly do not approach the Pygmies of Central Africa. Whether further ethnological and ethnographic investigations will uncover kindred traits among these peoples remains to be shown by further research.
144 That the Bushmen represent an almost pure race is apparent from the fact that the skin color is the same for almost all individuals, and from the evident uniformity in the structure of the body, especially of the face. In addition, the other native tribes of Southwest Africa show a pronounced aversion to racial mixture with the despised Bushmen.

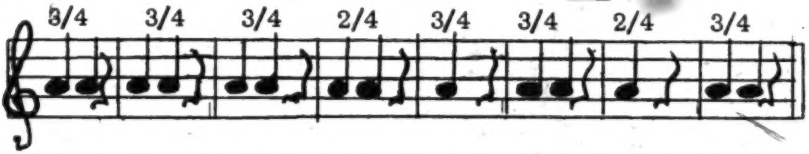
I come now to some ethnological and ethnographic observa-
535 tions which to me seem worthy of interest. I was especially
[171] interested in the dances of the Heikum, of which one, the //o //au, shows no similarity to any other native dance with which I have become acquainted in Southwest and East Africa.

The //o //au dance (in Kung language: //ooskĕ) is a men's dance in which a series of dueling runs by the performing dancers are represented (Figs. 5 and 6). Six men, three to a side in opposing pairs, kneel in an area about three meters square, with a free space between the two rows. In the middle of this free area there is a pile of veld food. The men kneel down, hunched very

/251 cont./

533 Between the syllables hu and e a slight tremulo occurs, so that the entire song is reminiscent of yodeling. Instead of the sequence f-e-f-e-c, other tonal sequences were frequently sung, for instance, g-f-g-f-c or g-e-g-e-c. Even more complicated tonal sequences, reminiscent of our seventh chords, were not uncommon.

Singing is always accompanied by handclapping. The rhythm of the clapping is very curious; at any rate, it does not correspond to the feeling for musical rhythm that is familiar to Europeans. Two rhythms in particular have stayed in my memory, and I shall try to characterize them. The reader should think of a rhythm which, at least to my knowledge, does not exist in Aryan music, namely a 5/5 beat. Of the five fifths of this beat, they clap on the first, second, and fourth, while there are pauses on the third and fifth. The beat, in other words, would look as follows, if I designate the clapping sounds with ♩ and the pauses with 𝄽 :

Another clapping rhythm is the following, in which the three-quarter beat alternates with the two-quarter: /252/

535 Such a dance with musical accompaniment is the following, which I should like to designate as the pumpkin dance and which is reminiscent of a ball game frequently played by children in Germany. A number of women march at a rapid pace in goose step on a circular line, at the same time clapping rhythmically with their hands and singing. Among the Heikum the clapping is done
● [171] with the fingers spread apart, in contrast to the Herero, who clap with their fingers together. At the same time, a pumpkin [melon?] approximately the size of a child's head is thrown from one of the dancers to the other, and always backwards from the person in front to the person just behind her.

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dangerous.' When they do they use the word *n/oi*. It is a word for gentle rain, and also a respect word. They use it for male rain when they are afraid of it and avoid its real name, */ga /go*.

The rains of the western Kalahari are local, falling from clouds which the winds herd. They may fill one pan and miss another. Laurence Marshall spent one whole night, tentless, in a drenching downpour, to find in the morning that a mile away no rain had fallen. But by and large the rains are sufficient in quantity and well enough dispersed to fill most of the water-holes, pans, and hollow trees, and to revive the growing things, so that the autumn months, which follow the rains, are good—the best of the year. Then the /Kung may travel anywhere within their territories to hunt and gather the fresh veldkos. The rains are life-giving.

Winter is the season of dryness. It is also the season of burning sun in the cloudless sky by day and freezing cold when the sun sets. Bitter winds catch up the sparks of the fires at night and whirl them in blazing streaks into the darkness. If water is left in an open bowl, it may be ice in the morning. By mid-winter, July, there has been no rain for three or four months. The pans and small water-holes are dry. Though there are still foods to be gathered, like the mangetti nuts in the northern forest, there is no water on the route, nor in the white sand dunes where the mangettis grow, and the people cannot carry enough in their ostrich-egg shells to go to the mangettis and return. In 7,500 square miles of the interior of the region around Nyae Nyae, there are only five water-holes which do not dry up in the winter and spring. The /Kung bands must gather around whatever permanent water-hole they belong to and restrict their hunting and gathering trips to conform one way or another to the problem of water. This region, incidentally, does not abound in tsama melons and, though there are succulent so-called ' water ' roots to be found, they seem not to be sufficient to support whole bands for long. The Nyae Nyae bands, it appears, cannot, or at least do not, base themselves for long periods away from their water-holes.

The spring months which follow the dry months of winter are the dangerous months. The sun is scorching. Fruits and leaves shrivel; the edible roots, stirred by the few tantalizing drops of the little rains, or just because it is spring, give up their juices to the first new shoots and are dry and bitter to eat. The people longingly await the rains, saying it is the sun which dries the water-holes and the plant foods. The /Kung of this region use one word for both sun and dryness, */kam*, and say the sun is death-giving.

In their beliefs about *n/ow*,[1] which they think influences the weather, as this paper will describe, they make an antithesis between rain and cold. This seems paradoxical when one experiences the devastating heat of the sun in September, October, and November, but the resolution of the paradox may lie in the fact that the hardships of the dry seasons begin with the rainless winter months and their bitterly cold nights, so that sun, dryness, cold and want become a complex which is in antithesis to rain and plenty. *N/ow* is called ' bad ' if it brings cold, ' good ' if it brings rain.

Mrs. Hoernlé[2] records a Hottentot belief called */nau*. The word appears to be

[1] We spell the /Kung word *n/ow* in this way because it rhymes with ' how '. We wish to distinguish it from another /Kung word, */nau*, which it closely resembles, but which has a slightly shorter, more closed sound. */Nau* means ' old man ', according to Miss Bleek's *Bushman Dictionary*. We heard it used as a term of respect in addressing old men.

[2] Hoernlé, Agnes W., ' Certain Rites of Transition and the Conception of */nau* among the Hottentots ', *Harvard African Studies*, ii (1918), pp. 73-77.

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821 171 192

similar to the /Kung word *n/ow* in sound but refers to a different belief. In the /Kung belief, *n/ow* influences rain. The Hottentot concept of */nau* supposes a state of being which exists when people are in periods of crisis in their lives. Professor Schapera[1] says of the state of */nau*, summarizing Mrs. Hoernlé's analysis:

> All periods of crisis in the life of a Hottentot involve his separation from his usual surroundings, his preparation for a new group in society, and, finally, his reception into this group. A person in such a crisis is exposed to danger on every side; he must retire from contact with other people, and take special care of himself. But he is also a danger to other people, and more especially to the animals and other living things upon which the community depends for its livelihood. Hence he is secluded, and must abstain scrupulously from his usual tasks.
>
> Such a person is said to be */nau*. It is essential that he be initiated, as it were, with the least possible delay into that group of his people already possessing the new characteristic he has acquired, in order that he may have a normal place in the community once more.

Remarried persons or persons newly widowed are examples.

171 796 821 [illegible]

Mrs. Hoernlé records a rain ceremony of the Hottentots which has several elements in common with the /Kung belief about *n/ow*. The Hottentot ceremony is called the *guri≠ab* (yearly killing).[2] Professor Schapera's[3] description of the *guri≠ab*, which follows, is, as he says, based mainly on Mrs. Hoernlé's account.

> . . . It [the ceremony] is held, if possible, on the banks of a stream, and if there is no stream near by, then a trench is dug to simulate one. When the old men judge that the summer rains are due (about November or December), they tell the chief that it is time to hold the yearly feast, and he sends word to all the outlying families, and decides the time and spot for the ceremony.
>
> Each family contributes according to its means, all bringing milk, and those who can, some female animal, a cow or a ewe, which must be pregnant. The feast cannot be held at all without one pregnant animal. . . . fires are lit to cook the meat for the feast. In addition a fire is lit on the banks of the stream for the special part of the ceremony. The animals are killed and cut up very carefully, so as to preserve intact the uteri, which are kept till after the feast. Eating apparently goes on most of the time until all the food is finished.
>
> When the fire at the riverside is ready, and a channel has been made to the river or stream, the old men of the tribe who are good at prophesying take the uteri, hold them over the fire and pierce them with sticks so that the uterine fluid flows directly through the fire and down the river. At the same time milk in plenty and fat from the animals are thrown on the fire, so that liquid really flows, and great clouds of smoke rise into the sky. Meanwhile all the people round gather together in a great tribal dance, calling on *Tsui ǁGoab* to send the rain in plenty, to make the ground soft and the grass green, so that they may have plenty of food for the year.

The uterine fluid, the fire and clouds of smoke rising into the sky, and the association of the ceremony with rain are the elements in the Hottentot belief which are similar to the elements in the /Kung Bushman belief of *n/ow*. But, though there are these interesting common elements, the /Kung concept differs largely from the Hottentot *guri≠ab*.

[1] Schapera, I., *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, New York, 1931, pp. 256–7.

[2] Hoernlé, Agnes W., 'A Hottentot Rain Ceremony', *Bantu Studies*, I, No. 2 (May 1922), pp. 3–4.

[3] Schapera, op. cit., p. 379.

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N/ow of the /Kung is something which influences weather, bringing rain if it is a 'good' *n/ow*, or cold if it is 'bad' *n/ow*. Precisely what *n/ow* consists of was never made explicit. Nothing about it can be seen. One knows of its existence, the /Kung say, by observing its effects upon the weather.

N/ow exists in all human beings, the /Kung believe, and in certain big animals, namely: giraffe, eland, gemsbok, kudu, hartebeest, and wildebeest. For the sake of brevity I shall refer to these animals as the *n/ow* animals. Small animals do not have *n/ow*, according to the /Kung. We wanted to learn why, but the /Kung could only tell us that they were so created. Steenbok have positively no *n/ow* at all. Some informants claimed that duikers had none, others said that duikers' *n/ow* was undeveloped. Informants were also uncertain about springbok. There are very few springbok in the region and informants said they killed them so seldom that they had not observed whether or not they had *n/ow*. Possibly other large animals would be found to have *n/ow* if the question were further pursued.[1] There was no disagreement among /Kung informants about other things; no other things have *n/ow*—not earth itself, nor vegetation nor other objects on earth; not water, clouds, rain, thunder or lightning, nor heavenly bodies. Not even the two Gods themselves have *n/ow* in them, neither the great one who lives in the eastern sky, nor his namesake (his */gwma*) who lives in the western sky, both of whom bear the names Huwe, Hishi, and ≠Gao/na, our informants told us.

N/ow gets into a human being in the womb. Exactly how this happens informants could not tell us. It was our impression that they were not hiding information, for they seemed willing enough to talk about *n/ow* and said it was not dangerous or harmful in any way to speak freely about it. We think they simply did not know. One informant said, 'The child gets the *n/ow* in the womb and is born with it.' Another said, 'The *n/ow* is created in the womb.' Another said, 'The great Creator gives the *n/ow* and taught the people to do the things they do about it. He made all things and made all things to be known.' The *n/ow* acquired in the womb remains in a person all his life.

Some persons get a 'good' rain-bringing *n/ow*, others get a 'bad' cold-bringing *n/ow*. When we wanted to learn how this happened we were told that 'When the mother's uterine fluid flows into the ground, it makes a *n/ow* in the child which brings rain or a *n/ow* which does not bring rain'.

The mother has no voluntary control over this, nor has anyone else; and there is nothing, like medicine or magic, spell or ceremony, which can be used to cause the *n/ow* to be one kind or the other. Furthermore, the child does not inherit a good or bad *n/ow* from his mother or father or any ancestors. The philosophy, lore, or belief about the question of what causes the *n/ow* to be one or the other kind, whatever it may have been in the past, seems not to be known now with clarity or detail.

Two verbs were used in connexion with *n/ow*: to ≠*gani* and to *//ghui*. The /Kung say that the mother has ≠*gani*(ed) the child if it gets a good *n/ow* and has *//ghui*(ed) it if

[1] Miss Lucy Lloyd (*A Short Account of Further Bushman Material, Third Report*, London, 1889, p. 19) mentions that a Bushman informant, Dia/-kwain by name, who worked with her and with Dr. Bleek before his death, and who came from the Katkop Mountains, south of the Orange River, told her that 'A baboon, when killed, resembles a man, in "making cloud"'. No more information was given in the report, but the concept of 'making cloud' suggests that possibly the now extinct or almost extinct Cape Bushmen had a belief which may have resembled in some ways the concept of *n/ow*.

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623 about it to others, unless it were a hunter caught in a storm alone in the veld; but
821 an individual, even without necessarily expressing a consensus, we think might say
789 to another, 'Why don't you burn some of your hair?', which would probably be enough to instigate the act. And, in all likelihood, it would be done with so little formality that the observer would not know anything was happening unless he knew what to watch for and were alerted.

171 There was no ceremony regularly performed by the /Kung of Nyae Nyae to ensure
821 plentiful rain, like the Hottentots' *guri≠ab*. The Rain dance of the /Kung, which is
789 danced often, all through the year, is a medicine dance, among several others, such
535 as the Giraffe, Sun, Gemsbok, Honey, and Mamba dances. All these are 'strong'
796 things, the /Kung believe. The dances so named have 'strong' medicine music. They
755 are danced during the medicine men's ceremony to cure the sick and protect the people and drive away any of the *//ganasi*, the spirits of the dead, who might be lurking to bring some evil upon the people. The Rain dance has this as its purpose, not the control of weather.

One night when the Rain dance was being beautifully danced with a fine precision and vigour of clapping, singing, and stamping, which to us suggested fervour, we were watching it so intently that we had not noticed the sky. The first storm of the season had crept up behind us and suddenly burst over us like a bomb. We asked
[82] Gao if he believed the dance had brought the rain. He said that the rain was due to come. The dance had not brought it.

821 A *n/ow* animal, as well as a human, has either a good or a bad *n/ow*, but it seems
825 not to be known clearly how it gets the one or the other. Good or bad *n/ow* is not correlated with one sex or one species. One giraffe, for example, either male or female, may have the rain-bringing, another the cold-bringing kind.

It seems that long or short horns may have something to do with good or bad *n/ow*, not the long-hornedness of gemsbok as compared with the short-hornedness of giraffes, but, within the species, the comparative length of horn. But one kind of *n/ow* is not inherent in short-hornedness nor is the other kind in long-hornedness. It is not so simple as that. And informants did not know what association, if any, the short or long horns may have with ≠Toma's vague idea that the short or long legs of a child in the womb might have something to do with the child's *n/ow*.

When a hunter kills a *n/ow* animal, he either *≠gani*(s) or *//ghui*(s) it. Like the mother who *≠gani*(s) or *//ghui*(s) her child at birth, the hunter has no voluntary control over this and cannot tell which he has done unless the effect is observed in the weather. A hunter with good or bad *n/ow* may *≠gani* or *//ghui* an animal which has either good or bad *n/ow* and long or short horns. The precise nature of the interaction remains obscure, but hunters took an intetest in telling about the kind of *n/ow* they thought they had, and gave instances of observing the effects of their killing various types of animals. If a man should kill a female kudu with short horns and the water should freeze that night, it would be evident that he had *//ghui*(ed) the animal. He would expect to continue to *//ghui* short-horned female kudus. However, although a man's *n/ow* remains constant throughout his life, the way it interacts with other factors may change, and after a time he may find he has begun to *≠gani* short-horned female kudus. We think the /Kung became a little tired of our finding this complicated.

One day in September the sun blazed in the clear sky. The heat beat down upon us.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

disks may represent two eland bulls, two eland cows, and a hyena, the fifth disk being the factor of ill fortune, and in this role they tell the hunters in what direction they should go and what success or difficulty to expect. The names of people who are absent may be attributed to the disks, which then give news of the people. As everyone knows where everyone is likely to be and what is likely to befall, the disks are more often right than wrong. They afforded us the amusement of a remarkable coincidence, which people so delight in, when they foretold quite precisely the return of one of our party who had been away and whom we had not expected nearly so soon.

It was entertaining to watch a session with the disks. A group of men would gather around the thrower. The thrower always had his say, but he was not allowed to pontificate. Everyone read the disks with him and gave his own interpretation. Sometimes the men would disagree and shout at each other in effect, 'Idiot, don't you see it means this?' At other times they were grave and intent, searching for the meaning. Whether they came to a consensus or went off, each holding to his own opinion, was never clear.

The Names of the Gods

The Names of the Great God

In present times the /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region believe that there are two gods, one the great and one the lesser, that they have wives and children, and that they are attended by the spirits of the dead.

These beings all live in the sky. The great god lives in the east at the place where the sun rises, the lesser god in the west where the sun sets.

The great god created himself. Then he created the lesser god. He created two wives, one for himself and one for the lesser god. The elder wife lives usually with the great god in the east, the younger one with the lesser god in the west, but, at any time the great god wishes, he may take both wives to live with him in the east. The wives bore six children to the gods, three boys and three girls. The great god created the earth and men and women and all things.

The great god named himself and then gave names to the lesser god and to their wives and children. He gave himself his names to praise himself. He said, 'I am *Hishe*. I am unknown, a stranger. No one can command me.' He praised himself also with the name */Gara* when he did something against the people, and the people said, 'He causes death among the people and causes the rain to thunder.' 'I am *≠Gaishi ≠gai*', said the great god. 'I am *chi dole*. I am a bad thing. I take my own way. No one can advise me.' His being the cause of sickness and death among the people was the reason for his giving himself many names, we were told. This was apparently a satisfying reason to the /Kung, who offered no other explanation.

The great god has seven divine names and one earthly name, the last being *≠Gaoha*, Old ≠Gao. His earthly name, though not as common as some, is a man's name which we came upon fairly often. I call his seven other names 'divine' because they belong only to the gods. They are:

Hishe	*/Gara*	*‖Gamwa*
Hmwe	*Gani ga*	
Kxo	*≠Gaishi ≠gai*	

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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776 The name *Hishe*, Schapera tells us, is used by the Naron and Auen.[1] He thinks it
●171 may be a corruption of *Heitsi Eibib*, a mythical hero of the Hottentots.[2] As this name is not reported for other /Kung groups by Miss Bleek, Vedder, or Lebzelter, it is possible that it has been borrowed by the Nyae Nyae /Kung from the Auen. The Auen (also called Makaukau) live immediately south of the Nyae Nyae region.[3]

The name *Hnwe* is reported for Miss Lloyd's /Kung informants from Lake Ngami by Miss Bleek, for the /Kung at Tsumeb by Vedder, and for the eastern Kalahari group by Dornan, but not for the Auen or Naron, who said to Miss Bleek, as Schapera tells us,[4] that ' he [*Hnwe*] was the " captain " of the men in the north, the Makoba and others. They also said he was the brother of *Hishe*, while one man called him the " captain " of the white people'.

The name *Kxo* is something of a puzzle. I spelt it this way because I thought I heard both the *k* and the velar fricative sound *x*, as distinct from the name *Ko*.[5] I believe now that what I heard as *Kxo* is the name which Schapera tells us is spelt both *Xu* and *‖Khu* by Lebzelter.[6] Lebzelter's account of *Xu* given him by the group he calls the eastern /Kung accords so closely with the Nyae Nyae /Kung's account of *Hishe—Hnwe—Kxo* that I feel certain that *Xu* and *Kxo* are conceptually the same being.

The Nyae Nyae /Kung did not have the name (or title) */khuba*, the Hottentot word for ' master ', which Schapera tells us the Auen and Naron were beginning to borrow from the Nama when Miss Bleek worked with the Auen at Sandfontein.[7] Nor did they have *Thora* which Dornan heard among Bushmen of the eastern Kalahari.[8] And none of the informants we worked with knew the name *Erob* recorded by Lebzelter among the /Kung in the Oschimpoloveld. Schapera tells us that this name came from the Hebrew *Elohim*, a name used by missionaries among the Nama for ' God '.[9]

776 I shall have more to say about *‖Gauwa* and *≠Gao/na* presently. The remaining three names, */Gara*, *Gani ga*, and *≠Gaishi ≠gai*, do not appear in the accounts of Bushman religion which Schapera analysed. I struggled to ascertain that they were names, not terms, titles, or descriptive phrases. So far, my evidence leads me to consider them names, but I could not trace their origin. My informants had no idea

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 182.

[2] Ibid., pp. 191, 374.

[3] For the location and extent of the Nyae Nyae region see Lorna Marshall, '/Kung Bushman Bands', *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960, pp. 325–7.

[1004 114] [4] Schapera, op. cit., p. 183.

[5] Some /Kung informants, /Ti/kay among them, claimed they did not know the name *Ko*. Others told us that *Ko* is a god of other people, a different god, not *≠Gao/na* or *‖Gauwa*. They said, for example, that the white man's god is *Ko*. One informant said, in effect, that, even though *Ko* was a god of other people, he could kill anybody—white men, black men, and Bushmen. One is interested to note that *Ko* was the name of the female mantis god of the Bushmen of Basutoland, reported by Arbousset, as Schapera tells us (ibid., p. 181).

[6] ' Lebzelter, in his account of Kung religion, says that all the groups investigated by him have the belief in a " supreme good being " (" ein höchstes gutes Wesen "). Among the Eastern Kung this being is termed *Xu* (elsewhere he spells the name *‖Khu*) or *Xuwa*, " the Lord " or " the great captain ", whom he identifies with Vedder's *Huwa* or *Hu'o*.' (Ibid., p. 183.)

Bushman languages present so many difficulties to those who are not experts in them—difficulties in recognizing the clicks and in sorting out variations in pronunciation between individuals even of the same group, as well as variations that are probably imposed by the position of the words in the sentence and by other grammatical configurations, &c.—that such discrepancies as *Kxo*, *Xu*, and *‖Khu* are relatively slight. Fully aware of my own inadequacy in the language, I usually assume when I differ from another observer that the other is right and I am wrong. However, I cannot simply adopt another's rendering of the word without knowing if the discrepancy is due to dialectal differences or to my ignorance or what, and so must stick to my own approximations.

[7] Schapera, op. cit., pp. 182–3.

[8] Ibid., p. 183.

[9] Ibid., p. 190.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

Marshall shows how specific customs reflect the dominant quest for water, and she portrays the feeling of Bushman culture as well as providing an ethnologist's construct. In this configurational model focusing on ethos, she indicates how derived themes or postulates, such as the stress on cooperation, relate to the most basic theme. Comparison of the !Kung Bushmen with the Mbuti Pygmies, the other foraging group represented in this book, reveals that even though these groups occupy very different habitats some features of their cultures are similar. These include not only elements of technology, for example, the use of poisoned arrows, but themes such as the stress on cooperation and the minimizing of intragroup conflicts, features that are a functional requisite for the close, face-to-face relationships in a foraging band. Thus a study of the Bushmen offers insight into what may be minimal and hence universal features of the foraging band as a culture type.

Bushman culture is also of interest to those concerned with African culture history, for archaeological remains of societies with a similar material culture have been discovered scattered over a much wider region of the eastern part of the continent than the Bushmen now occupy. Many anthropologists feel that the bearers of these early cultures were Bushmen, or Bushmanlike in racial type. An understanding of Bushman culture gives us insight into the cultural and behavioral setting to which the mute artifacts may have belonged.

about the author

Lorna Marshall lives in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and, with members of her family, has conducted several expeditions to the Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa (1951, 1952–1953, 1955, 1959, 1961), of Bechuanaland Protectorate (1955, 1961), and of southeast Angola (1959). She received her M.A. from Radcliffe College in 1928. Her writings include "The Kin Terminology System of the !Kung Bushmen" (1957), "N!ow" (1957), "Marriage among the !Kung Bushmen" (1959), "!Kung Bushman Bands" (1960), "Sharing, Talking and Giving: Relief of Social Tensions among !Kung Bushmen" (1961), and "!Kung Bushman Religious Beliefs" (1962).

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

513 882 together may sleep near the parents of one of them, but not exactly at the parents' fire.

855 857 Within the frame of protectiveness the parents are very permissive and make few, if any, demands on their children. With no houses and few utensils, there are not many household tasks to assign. Children are not sent off alone to do any of the daily work of fetching water or wood or [136] gathering veldkos. Although lions, leopards, and hyenas tend to mind their own business, they are present in the country and share the water holes with the Bushmen. Poisonous snakes are a very real danger. Furthermore, as the hunters say, it takes a lifetime to learn the country well enough not to be easily lost in the featureless grass and brush. The adults do not let their children out of their sight. In their parents' presence the children imitate adult activities in vital, active play, very engaging to watch, and [868] participate in actual work as they are able. The adults pause to show them how to hold a digging stick, or a toy bow or drill, so that play and learning merge.

524 857 [512] The !Kung have a rich variety of lively group games, with pantomime, singing, dancing, and other rhythmic movements, that children and adults together enjoy playing in the werf when the heat of the day is over. In most of their games boys and girls play separately, but they dance and sing together.

861 !Kung children are never harshly punished. One father said that if he had a boy who was quarrelsome or who disobeyed the rules—for instance, the absolute rule of the !Kung against stealing food or possessions—what he would do about it would be to keep the boy right with him until he learned 857 156 sense. The children on their part do not often do things that call forth punishment. They usually fall in with group life and do what is expected of them without apparent uncertainty, frustration, or fear; and expressions of resistance or hostility toward their parents, the group, or each other are very much the exception.

881 [173] PUBERTY • When the fathers of the present old men were young men, the Nyae Nyae !Kung adopted the ceremony of the *Choma*, which they said was taught to them by a !Kung man who had married into another [171] language group in the south. The *Choma* resembles some Bantu initiation [562] ceremonies at certain points. The men who have had the ceremony and are therefore *Choma* owners take the boys to a place far enough from the werf to be out of hearing of the women, who, the !Kung claim, would die if they [535] heard some of the *Choma* sounds. The men and boys dance all night for several nights to special *Choma* songs with special rhythms that differ from [534] those of the other dances. A secret bull-roarer plays a part in the ceremony. [302] At the end the boys are scarified with a vertical line down the middle of [304] their foreheads and are given a special *Choma* haircut. Circumcision or other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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!Kung

776 gods, the !Kung fear to do so because it displeases the gods and draws their attention and they say, "Who is calling my name?"

The lesser god who lives in the western sky is the namesake of the great god, who, as the belief goes, gave the lesser god all seven of his own divine names, but not his human name. Although they insist in this belief, the !Kung never used any name but *//Gauwa*, one of the seven divine names, when they referred to the lesser god and we never heard them actually use this name for the great god. It would seem, then, that the lesser god is the old evil spirit, *//Gauwa*, who appears in the beliefs of the Hottentots and other Bushman language groups as the destroyer and the black chief, the one who sends death, disease, and misfortune. This evil spirit was an entity distinct from the good spirit who was variously named by Bushman groups *Hishe*, *Huwe*, and so on.

[171]

In present !Kung belief, however, neither the great god nor the lesser god is all evil or all good. Both are capable of being pleased or displeased with man and of sending favors or misfortunes. The lesser god is subservient to the great god and is supposed to do his bidding. The lesser god, however, has his own entity and does instigate his own actions, sometimes even disobeying the great god. Often they disagree between themselves.

The great god looks like a man, like a Bushman, but he is "the tallest of the Bushmen" and has long black hair that is not twisted and knotted like Bushman hair. He rides a horse across the sky—you can hear him—and he has a gun as well as bows and arrows. Some say he never comes to earth but always sends *//Gauwa*, or the spirits of the dead, the *//gauwasi*, to bring the good or evil that he sends to men. Only the greatest of medicine men have ever seen him.

[178]

//Gauwa, however, is commonly seen by the medicine men. They describe him as small. One said he was about two feet tall; another, that he was as small as a guinea fowl; a third, that he was as small as a mouse. Several agreed that he was covered with yellow hairs. One, however, a humble man, said that while in trance he had seen *//Gauwa* and that he was like a gray mist.

782 RELIGIOUS PRACTICES • The !Kung say that they pray spontaneously to the gods. Whenever the thought comes to them they put their prayers into words and say or think them to themselves without any formality. When they speak in prayer to the great god they address him by the respectful term *!Nau*, used for any old man, or use a title *Gaoxa* (chief), or call him "father." Sometimes they use one of his names. The prayers, a mingling of mild imprecation and pleading, reveal the major concerns of the !Kung: hunger, sickness, and death.[11]

[181]

776 753 779 755 The great god, responsible for sending sickness and death to men, also created and gives to men a mystical curing power that is called *gaoxa*

121 view of the Bushmen. The present study is a contribution to this reorientation and, as such, has implications, not only for Bushman studies, but for the study of hunters and gatherers in general.

The study of subsistence ecology focusses attention on those aspects of the man/environment relation which pertain to the getting of food. Since there are populations of Bushmen available which still maintain a full-time, year-round, hunting and gathering way of life, an investigation of subsistence ecology can be founded on a firm empirical basis. The investigator does not have to rely on the memory of informants concerning conditions no longer in existence.

121 114 171 Another recent study - of the subsistence activities of Australian aborigines in Arnhem Land (McCarthy and McArthur 1960) - offers an instructive contrast to the present study. Both studies are concerned with the subsistence ecology of hunter-gatherers. The difference lies in the fact that the Australian groups studied spent the greater part of each year living on mission stations where they ate European foods. Consequently, the Australian scientists could observe traditional food getting for two week periods that were bracketed by periods of residence on the mission stations. The Bushman study, on the other hand, is a continuous record of hunting and gathering activities extending over a fifteen month period. The Dobe area 121 222 224 Bushmen were hunting and gathering for the simple reason that

433 subsistence base would be even more substantial during a year of higher rainfall. The Kalahari desert is by any account a marginal habitat for human occupation. Nevertheless it is apparent that the people who live there can satisfy their subsistence needs with a reasonable amount of effort and within a short compass of their waterholes.

The Subsistence Base of Other Hunter-Gatherers

It remains to be considered whether the !Kung Bushmen are exceptional among hunters and gatherers in that they have an unusually reliable subsistence base in the form of the mongongo nut.

• 171 433 A brief survey of the living hunting and gathering peoples indicates that the !Kung are quite typical of the general picture. For instance, the coastal Tierra del Fuegians, the California Indians, the Strandloopers of South Africa, and the Australian aborigines of Arnhem Land, the Cape York Peninsula, and New South Wales all possessed a superabundant staple of marine resources, especially shellfish. In the interior of California the acorn was the superabundant staple. Even the lowly Shoshoneans of the Great Basin who, because of scarce resources, were forced to exist at the "family level of organization" possessed a superabundant staple in the form of piñon nuts (Steward 1955). These nuts were so abundant that quantities could be collected and stored sufficient to last through the winter. Furthermore, the winter encampments typically consisted

171
433 of 20 or 30 families living in one locality (Steward 1955:105). Such a camp would contain upwards of 60 people and therefore would have been as large as the larger of the Dobe Bushmen winter camps. Even larger aggregations occurred among the Shoshone on the occasion of the communal rabbit hunts. In light of this, one suspects that the subsistence basis of the Shoshone was more secure than their ethnographer was prepared to allow.

It is not known what the staple food resource of the desert aborigines of Australia may have been, but there is compelling evidence that such a staple did exist. This is based on the fact that groups of 300-500 Aranda and Walbiri have been observed to congregate for four to five months at a time (Strehlow 1947:65; Meggitt 1962:55). Such concentrations of population could not have been possible without a super-abundant source of food.

It is suggested that the literature on the living hunters and gatherers of the world deserves to be reconsidered in light of this abundant food base. It appears that anthropologists have tended to underestimate hunting and gathering as a viable and persistent way of life. Despite the fact that non-agricultural peoples today are confined to the least attractive habitats of the world, there is evidence that human ingenuity, such as that displayed by the Dobe area Bushmen, can produce a substantial living from even the most unpromising environments.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX 10

also have a larger apron behind, sometimes hanging from the shoulders, more often tied round the waist, and almost meeting over or under the apron in front. In the north-east a leather loin-cloth drawn through a belt in the same way as that of the men, only somewhat longer, is often seen instead. A large kaross is also worn by the married women. This hangs from the right shoulder, passing under the left arm, and is tied again at the waist; it thus forms a convenient pouch, in which are carried the baby as well as supplies for the day, such as ostrich eggshells filled with water, edible roots and fruit, grass or firewood.

Babies go naked, save for a trifling ornament, till they are about a year old. The boys are then given a tiny belt with a semi-circular flap of leather in front, the girls a small apron decorated with leather tassels and beads. Their mother's kaross, however, continues to be their sole protection from the cold till they are weaned, when about three or four years old. The little girls then receive a tiny kaross hanging from the shoulders, the boys a small loin-cloth similar to that of the men. They do not wear a cloak of any kind till they are in their teens and are taken out to learn hunting.

All women and children and the younger men also wear ornaments. Chief among these are ostrich egg-shell beads, the making of which is one of the oldest Bushmen industries. Such beads, whole and in fragments, and at all stages of making, are found all over South Africa, from the kitchen-middens on the south coast as far north as the Okavango, where they form a standard article of barter between the Bushmen and their Bantu neighbours. They are made by the women. The eggshell is broken into small pieces which are softened in water and pierced with a small stone or iron borer. They are then threaded on to a strip of sinew and the rough edges chipped off with a horn. Soft bark fibre is next twisted between the beads, making the chain very taut, and the edges are finally rubbed smooth with a soft stone. The beads thus made are used as single chains or worked into more complicated ornaments. Bands of them are worn on the hair, sometimes encircling the whole head, more often tied to the hair on either side, while a long narrow strip may hang down the forehead or on to the neck behind. Necklaces and bracelets of these beads are also seen, and very long chains are fastened three or four times round the waist (Plate XI).

Besides these beads any other ornaments obtainable are worn by the women. These include arm and leg bands made of leather and bark strips or twisted from the tail hairs of a wildebeest or gnu, as

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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lighting a new fire at the next encampment, although this is a practice which, as we have just seen, Fourie explicitly denies for the Heikum.

There is no indication at all in the available literature that similar usages relating to fire are found among the rest of the Bushmen, nor is there any further evidence of their occurrence among the tribes mentioned above. On the other hand the sacred fire also plays a very conspicuous part in the social and ritual life of the OvaHerero, OvaMbo, and Bergdama, all of them close neighbours of the Bushmen tribes among whom it is found, and with the last two of whom the Heikum at least have intermixed considerably. It is probable therefore that the special observances relating to fire among the Heikum and the Kung may represent borrowed elements of culture; but much fuller information is needed about them before this can be definitely asserted. Whatever their origin, however, these usages now obviously play an important part in the social life of the people. In particular, the fact that at the present time the chief of the band has certain exclusive functions in connection with fire is of outstanding significance in the whole sphere of public life, and one which cannot be dismissed merely because it may be due to the effects of contact with other peoples. To this point we shall have to return when discussing the political institutions of the Bushmen.

Special Usages relating to Food

There is not much information available about food taboos, but it appears that, in some of the tribes at least, certain foods are forbidden to persons at different stages of life. In the texts obtained by Dr. Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen there are preserved the details of some of the food taboos prevalent among this people. Thus little children were not allowed to eat the heart of the jackal (on account of this animal's great timidity), certain portions of the ostrich, or the tip of the springbok's tail; a menstruating girl might not eat game killed by the young men, lest she bring them ill luck—she had to eat only game taken by her father; a certain kind of tortoise was forbidden to young unmarried men and women, for fear of arousing the wrath of the rain; women were not allowed to eat the flesh of the lynx; the tail of the porcupine was forbidden to certain (unspecified) persons; while all refrained from eating a certain small portion of the flesh of the hare.[1] The published information relating

[1] L. C. Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 23; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, cf. references in Index, s.v. "Food—not to be eaten."

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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276 smoke sucked through the water by deep breaths into the lungs. A somewhat similar form of pipe is found among the Heikum and the Kung, but apparently water is not used here in smoking. Further
● [171] east, among the Hiechware, a method of ground-smoking is found similar to that obtaining among the neighbouring Bantu peoples. A small hole is made in the ground, into which the man puts the tobacco; he then inserts his pipe-stick through a small tunnel and smokes.[1]

Dagga is mixed with tobacco or smoked by itself whenever obtainable. The habit is said seriously to affect those addicted to it, both physically and morally. When taken in slight quantities the
[164] herb has no visible ill-effects, but excessive indulgence is most deleterious to the health, and if persisted in sometimes causes mental aberration and frenzy.

273 Few of the Bushmen know how to make any kind of liquor themselves. The only exception, perhaps, are the Namib Bushmen, who,
[170] after the manner of their Hottentot neighbours, brew a kind of mead out of honey. They are very partial to this drink, which plays an essential part in all their festivities.[2] The other Bushmen in general also do not seem to trade for any liquor, although they all appreciate alcohol and native beer when it is given to them. The Hiechware,
[439] however, are said to be excessively fond of native beer, which they obtain by barter from the BeChwana; and, according to Dornan, they contrive to get drunk whenever they can.[3] Drunkenness as a rule is very exceptional among the rest of the Bushmen.

Sexual Life and Marriage

Conditions and Forms of Marriage

114 There is very little information about the relations of the sexes
836 before marriage. Either the subject is not mentioned at all by our authorities, or it is curtly dismissed in a short sentence. Kaufmann, for instance, reports of the Auen merely that prenuptial intercourse hardly ever seems to occur[4]; Lebzelter writes of the Kung that chastity is insisted upon before marriage[5]; while, on the other hand, all Miss Bleek has to say in this connection about the Naron is that

[1] Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 164 sq.; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 32; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 257; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 122–3.
[2] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 168; Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 504.
[3] Op. cit., 121. [4] Op. cit., 136. [5] Op. cit., (16).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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believed that they bring ill-luck on the parents. What treatment is adopted in the other tribes is not definitely stated; among the Naron it appears that they are both allowed to live.

The exposure or killing of deformed children does not seem to occur in any of the tribes. Abortion, however, is often induced by treading on the body of the pregnant woman. It appears to be practised mainly when she is unmarried, and therefore to imply that only married women have the right to bear and rear children.

There is no account of any special ceremony held in connection with birth, although if there is enough food—but only then—a feast followed by a dance may be given by the parents. The child is usually named shortly after birth, without special ceremony. The name is given by the parents in consultation with the grandparents and other relatives, and among most of the North-Western tribes is generally that of some near relative. Boys, for instance, may receive the name of a paternal grandfather or uncle, girls that of a maternal grandmother or aunt. Often there is a squabble about the name between the father's people and those of the mother; whichever party is in force generally succeeds in having its wishes adopted, and the child is named after a member on that side of the family.[1]

The Heikum system of naming closely resembles that of the Hottentots, and has in all probability been taken over from them. "Each child," says Fourie,[2] "is generally given three names, namely a first name, a second name, and a surname. Names are not given by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother, and the second name by the old woman who assisted at the confinement. Boys take the surname of the mother and girls that of the father.[3] Thus */Uirob Geirob /Geibeb* married a woman */Kao-tamas Gamanis /Garus* and begot two sons, namely *//Otoab /Gonab /Garub* and *Gogob Gomob /Garub*, and one daughter *Hoaras /Geibes*. Not uncommonly, in the case of boys only, the father's surname with the suffix *mab*, meaning son of, is added to the surname. Hence the names of *//Otoab* become *//Otoab /Gonab /Garub /Geibemab*. This practice offers a means of identifying relationship and is used for this purpose. A person is as a rule called by the first name only. Nicknames are common, and are given to children when quite young.

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 99; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 30–1; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 66.

[2] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 61.

[3] This feature is specially characteristic of the Hottentot system of name-giving. V. below, p. 267.

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171 551 They are usually directed towards some physical peculiarity, for example, *Eibarab*, the lad with the long face, and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often retained throughout life."

853 [862] Children are nursed by their mothers till about three or even four years old. They cannot be weaned sooner, as there is no suitable food; they begin to taste vegetable foods quite soon, but in order to satisfy their hunger must still have recourse to their mother's breast.

847 This prolonged weaning is responsible for the custom of infanticide found among the North-Western tribes.[1] Sexual intercourse between the parents is not discontinued until pregnancy is far advanced, and is resumed shortly after the birth. As no preventive means save [163] abortion are known, pregnancies therefore follow in rapid succession during the course of married life, and it often happens that another child, or even two, may be born while the first is still at the breast. In such a case the new child is, as the natives euphemistically put it, "thrown away." Care is taken that the birth takes place in the [844] bush far away from home, and an attempt is made to force it on by massage. But whether alive or stillborn, the infant is buried in the nearest burrow or in a hole in the ground made for the purpose by the old woman who helps the mother.

This practice is generally carried out against the husband's wishes, but the women are adamant in their refusal to rear two children at the same time. They find it impracticable to provide for two children of different ages, both needing the shelter of their kaross, and to be carried on marches, and are determined not to have another child to rear until the first is able to do without their milk and care. In selecting which children shall live, they go merely by the convenient time, not by the health of the infant; several people have physical defects dating from birth, good evidence that deformed children are not necessarily done away with. It follows that only every second or third child is usually weaned, the one or two born in the interval being killed without exception. This practice is not heard of among [184] the Southern or the Namib Bushmen.

[165] In consequence of this custom, as well as of the high infant mortality caused by the natural hardships and strenuous conditions of Bushman life, relatively few children survive, and the families are therefore 162 small. On the average women do not rear more than two or three children, although among the Naron Miss Bleek found one or two

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 99; Kaufmann, op. cit., 136; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 31–2; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.

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adolescent boys, who remain in the camp for the occasion, are 881
summoned to pass in single file behind her hut. As they pass, each
presses his scrotum against her hand, passed through a small opening [751]
made by her mother in the back of the hut, and she touches it with
forefinger and thumb. This is done to protect the boys against
swelling of the testicles, which is believed to result from contact, [841]
direct or indirect, with a menstruating woman or anything associated
with her. After all the boys have filed past and returned to their hut,
an old woman enters the girl's hut and rubs down her body with a
preparation of roots. The girl is then ceremonially taken to fetch
first water and then wood, which she brings at a run and places at
the hut of the old woman who cleansed her. After these have been
deposited the ceremony is over. This fetching of water and wood,
together with the cleansing, no doubt symbolizes the return of the
girl to the normal occupations of her daily life.

She is now a woman eligible for marriage, she lives in a new hut 882
built for her by her mother, accompanies the married women in their
daily occupations, and associates with them. The food collected 883
by her during the four or five days following the ceremony is
eaten only by very old women, e.g. the one who rubbed her down.
After that any food she gathers is shared with her mother. On
subsequent menstrual periods she may not go into the veld to gather [841]
veldkos, but must remain in the camp, and is fed by her mother.

In many of its details this ceremony closely resembles the puberty 171 ●
ceremony for girls among the Hottentots. There is a strong probability 881
that it may even have been taken over from the latter, by whom the
Heikum have unquestionably been influenced to a considerable
extent. At the same time, in the seclusion of the girl in a separate
hut, the avoidance of contact with men, and the performance of a
special dance, this ceremony also presents features noted in the
corresponding ceremonies of other Bushman tribes. The differences
apparent between it and the others may therefore be due merely to
the fact that it has been studied and recorded in much fuller detail.
Without further study of the other Bushman tribes no definite
assertion can be made on this point.

The puberty ceremony for girls among the !O Kung of Angola 184
differs in several important respects from those already noted. Every 304
girl, at her first menstruation, is placed in a separate hut, and kept 881
there until the new moon is seen. A dance is held in her honour on
the first nights; both sexes take part in this, but not the girl herself.

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is turned into the shaft; for shooting, the head is reversed, so that the rounded end is turned in and the poisoned end projects. In a more complex form based on the same principle, the head consists of two separate pieces of bone connected by a small link shaft or section of reed; the one piece is blunted at the tip, the other pointed and poisoned. Both pieces fit into the hollow of the main shaft of reed, and when the arrow is not required for use the blunted piece forms the projecting end of the head while the poisoned piece is in the shaft, but for shooting the head is reversed. This extremely interesting type seems to be restricted in occurrence to these Bushman tribes, and is obviously directly correlated with the employment of poison as the effective agent of the arrow.

The tribes further north, such as the Northern Kung, the Heikum and the !O Kung of Angola, nowadays generally use arrows with feathered wooden shafts and iron points only. These resemble in type the arrows of the neighbouring Bantu peoples, and may have been imitated from them.

All these arrows are rather fragile, and can never seriously wound any animal which they strike. For their effect reliance is placed upon the poisonous mixtures dotted or smeared over their points.[1] Many ingredients of different kinds are used in these mixtures, the more common being the vegetable juices of *Acokanthera venenata*, *Haemanthus toxicarius* (*Amaryllis disticha*), and various species of *Euphorbia*; the venom of the larger poisonous snakes, such as the puffadder (*Bitis arietans*) and the cobra (*Naia haje*); the beetle *Cladocera nigro-ornata*; the "baviaan spinnekop" or trapdoor spider; and the "klip-gift" or "rock poison" (probably a form of arsenic). Not all of these are in use among the Bushmen as a whole. There appears rather to be a fairly definite distribution of the various mixtures, dependent upon the substances available in the different localities; and probably each tribe of Bushmen has its own particular formula, although this cannot be asserted definitely. For general purposes we may distinguish three main types of arrow poison: the Namib Bushmen and those of the north-west districts of the Cape use a purely vegetable poison; the Southern Bushmen generally and some other tribes, such as the Hiechware and the Kung, use a

[1] A comprehensive survey of the earlier literature on the subject is given by Schapera, "Bushman Arrow Poisons," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1923), 199–214. Two more recent papers of importance are: Hall and Whitehead, "A Pharmaco-Bacteriologic Study of African Poisoned Arrows," *J. Infectious Diseases*, xli (1927), 51–69; and Waterston, "The Bushman's Arrow-Poison Beetle," *Natural History Magazine*, ii (1929), 74–89.

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nowadays the thing is done in a haphazard manner, and generally passes as an accident. 222 224 311

The collection of veldkos is done by both men and women; but whereas with the former it is incidental to their hunting, the latter are collectors only, and set out every day, usually in company, to go over several miles of land. The digging-sticks they use are from 3 to 4 feet long, and consist of pieces of hard wood, pointed at one end. In the south, where the veld is hard, and in the mountainous parts of the east these sticks were sometimes tipped with a buck's horn and weighted by means of a perforated stone ball passed over their lower end and wedged in (Plate IX); but in the Kalahari, where there is only sand to cope with, this is never found. The foods gathered are chiefly roots, bulbs, ground nuts, berries, melons, and, in fact, anything at all edible, the food naturally varying with the season of the year. At the same time, the women also catch all sorts of small animals which they come across—iguanas, tortoises, frogs, locusts, flying ants, etc.—and they gather dry sticks for the evening fire. [462] [412] [184]

Among the Heikum the following ceremony is observed in connection with the gathering of veldkos by the women. "It is practised," says Fourie,[1] "when the fruit of the */huin* ripens, generally after the onset of the big rainy season in the month of February. On a certain day, appointed by the *gei-khoib*, all the women, under the guidance of the *gei-khois*, set out to collect the first fruit of the */huin*, the men in the meantime remaining in the *//gaus*. The trees from which the fruit is to be gathered are indicated by the *gei-khois*. On the return of the women to the *//gaus* they deposit the bags containing the fruit in front of the hut of the *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* then fills four or five basins by taking a little from the bag of each woman and places them under the */heis*. Her husband now kindles the */hei-/ais*, and, after having applied */norab* and *dabas* to appease the fire for a plentiful harvest, takes a handful or two of the fruit and eats it. The fruit is now free and both men and women may eat it." There is no known name for this ceremony, but the first fruit is called */gao-ei-/un*. The ceremony in this form is not found in any of the other Bushman tribes, but is met with also in slightly different form among the Bergdama. The possibility of borrowing must therefore again be kept in mind; but, whether borrowed or not, the ceremony is of importance as indicating the development of a special ritual in connection with one of the principal sources of food supply. 222 622 [184] [171]

[1] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 58–7; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W.A." 98–9.

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band, such as migrations and hunting parties, appear rather to be regulated by the skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men generally.[1]

Among the North-Western tribes, on the other hand, where the bands are on the whole more considerable in size, each band has a recognized chief (*//exa* or *//exaba*, *gao-aob* or *gei-khoib*; the last two words are of Hottentot origin).[2] The office is as a rule hereditary in the male line, descending from father to son, or, failing such, to the nearest male relative. The heir succeeds only when he attains maturity, i.e. when he has passed through the puberty ceremonies and has killed his first head of big game. During his minority there is no regency—things just go on, as Kaufmann says. Among the Heikum and the Kung, however, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds. This rule of succession is so much at variance with what we know of the other North-Western Bushmen, and even of the structure of the band in the two tribes mentioned, that, if the information be correct, the practice can only be regarded as due to the influence of the neighbouring OvaMbo, who are definitely organized on a matrilineal basis. There is no other instance of matrilineal succession among the Bushmen.

No tribute or services are rendered to the chief, nor are there any special signs of chieftainship, such as a particular dress or mode of life. We are told by Miss Bleek that Naron chiefs mostly have two wives, but whether this is in any way associated with their status is not made clear. The main functions of the chief apparently are to direct the movements of the people from place to place and to allocate the work for the day, to order the burning of the veld, and, in particular, to lead in war. Among the Heikum we also know that in him are vested certain other functions the performance of which is of vital importance to the welfare of the community. He alone, as we have seen, "is able to bring forth from fire the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off evil and misfortune." The various beliefs and practices centring in the first fire kindled by him at every new encampment, while fully demonstrating the importance of this fire in the social life of the people, at the same time also reflect his religious significance and emphasize the dependence of the community upon him in this aspect of their life. He also, as we have

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, p. viii; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109; Trenk, op. cit., 170; Seydel, op. cit., 504.

[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 154; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36–7; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 86–8; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 14.

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judge, the head of the band, but in cases of murder, bodily injury resulting in death, and treason the latter is assisted by another man. The judges can invite or summon witnesses, and after coming to a decision announce it in the presence of all the members of the band. Murder is punished by death, the sentence being executed by the relatives of the dead man, who kill his slayer with the kirri or by stoning him; treason is also punished by death, and so, in former times, was adultery, although nowadays the adulterer is merely beaten very severely. Theft, the concealment of stolen property, assaults leading to bodily injury, and offences against morality are punished by thrashing. Attempted crimes as well as aiding and abetting receive the same punishment as the accomplished deed, but self-defence is in no way penalized.

How far this description can be accepted as entirely accurate is difficult to say, since Trenk in discussing the legal usages of these Bushmen makes no mention of such a form of procedure. There is no reason, however, to dismiss it as improbable, since the Nama Hottentots, under whose influence the Namib Bushmen have come to a very large extent, have a more elaborate legal system along the same lines, and the Bushman procedure may well have been imitated from this. There is nothing, as far as our present information goes, to suggest the existence of such an organized procedure in any of the other Bushman tribes.

Relations with Other Bands

Each band, as has been shown, has its own particular hunting territory, and in general the members of the band keep within their own bounds. But people of neighbouring bands do occasionally have relations with one another. Intermarriage, for example, is a rule among the North-Western tribes, where also a newly-married man generally remains for some time with his wife's people before returning with her to his own band. Visits are apparently also frequent between families connected by marriage, and in any case, as we have seen, a woman always goes back to her parents' home for her first confinement. Trading visits, again, are often undertaken from one band to another, while under special circumstances we may also find the members of several different bands assembled together for a while. It has already been mentioned, for instance, how an outbreak of rinderpest resulting in the death of many cattle drew together

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year or two, during which the dead person is never spoken of but with veneration and tears.[1]

Several details in this account—the anointing, perfuming, and examination of the body, as well as the burning of the hut—are not met with in the descriptions of other independent observers, who as a rule remark merely that the corpse is buried with all its possessions and the place then deserted.[2] On the other hand, it is certain that many of the Southern Bushmen heaped stones on the graves of their dead. This custom may have originated merely from the desire to protect the body from the ravages of hyenas and other wild animals. It has, however, sometimes been given a religious significance owing to the fact, recorded by several of the older observers, that passing natives would always add a branch or a stone to the heap. It is unfortunately not always possible to gather whether the natives referred to were Bushmen or Hottentots. The latter certainly have various practices and beliefs connected with these grave heaps, of which the usage just mentioned is one of the most common, but there is no fully reliable evidence of anything similar being observed by the Southern Bushmen.

In excavated graves the corpse is sometimes found lying on its left side, with one or two large flat stones placed directly upon it. The interest attaching to these "burial stones" lies in the fact that in a few cases, in association with cave burials along the south coast, they have been found with figures of human beings painted upon them in the typical Bushman style. It would be unprofitable to speculate upon the significance of such stones, as there is no record of any Bushmen having explained them to our authorities; but that they were related to some definite belief can hardly be doubted.[3]

The Namib Bushmen, according to Seydel, as a rule bury a dead person on the morning following his death, and in any case not before the death has been confirmed by the nearest neighbours. The relatives of the dead man and the neighbours accompany the corpse to the grave, uttering or singing a funeral dirge. The grave

[1] *Voyage d'Exploration au . . . Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, 303–4.

[2] Campbell, *Missionary Travels in S. Africa*, 440; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 289; Fritsch, *Drei Jahre in Südafrika*, 242. The account given by Hahn (op. cit., 121) is obviously derived from Arbousset; that in Stow (op. cit., 126–9) from Arbousset, Campbell and Sparrman. The English translation of Arbousset (p. 363) renders "grossièrement parfumée" as "coarsely embalmed", which, as it is repeated in Stow, may have given rise to some misconception. There is nothing in the nature of real embalming among the Bushmen.

[3] Fritsch, loc. cit.; Haughton, in *Trans. R. Soc. S. Afr.*, xiii, 105–6; FitzSimons, *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx, 301, 541.

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buchu on the grave and says *tabetu*, good-bye. All then move to another locality and avoid the spot for a couple of years; no one will remain in the vicinity, owing to fear of the ghost. After the funeral there are no further mourning rites.[1]

The burial customs of the Auen appear to be generally similar to those of the Naron.[2] The Kung bind the corpse in the same contracted position, and according to Lebzelter also smear it with ochre. The grave, round, shallow, and narrow, is dug by the men preferably under a termite hill, but if there is none in the vicinity any other suitable spot is chosen. The bottom is covered with branches, over which is spread the grass upon which the dead person last slept. The corpse is buried lying on one side; Vedder states that it faces no special direction, Lebzelter that the back is towards the east. Women are buried with their ornaments, men have their weapons placed on the breast, and children their small bows or digging-sticks. The grave is never again visited by the relatives; if their way leads past it, they go round in a tangent.[3]

In the Eastern Kalahari the Bushmen likewise often bury dead people in the termite ant-hills that are so common all over the country. A hole is excavated in which the body is placed in a contracted position. The grave is then surrounded with a fence of thorn bushes to protect it from the jackals and hyenas. The "tame" Bushmen now also bury their dead in much the same manner as do the heathen BeChwana. A round hole three or four feet deep is excavated, in the side of which a recess is made. The corpse is placed in this recess, either sitting or lying on the left side, with the knees doubled up to the chin. The grave, as a rule, is near to the place where the dead person lived. Sometimes they do not take the trouble to excavate the grave, but use an ant-hill or the cleft of a rock. Here also there is apparently no fixed orientation of the corpse, for when Dornan asked his informants if they placed it with the face to the east, some said they did, others said they did not. When a man is buried, his weapons are placed in the grave with him, together with some meat and occasionally a little water, while a woman is buried with a few ostrich egg-shells, some berries and meat. As a rule the dead person's ornaments are also added, though amongst the tame Bushmen they may be removed. "This, however, is not

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 109–10; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 35.
[2] Kaufmann, op. cit., 158.
[3] Vedder, "Kû-Buschmannsprache," 8; Lebzelter, "!Kuñ-Buschleuten," 14.

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boys. This particular association, in other words, is peculiar to the North-Western Bushmen; but whether it has been borrowed or is simply a local development cannot be decided in the light of our present knowledge.

Finally, the Hottentots speak also of *Heitsi Eibib*, who seems to be a sort of ancestral hero, and who is worshipped at his "graves", where he is prayed to for success in hunting, etc. His mythological character in certain respects resembles that of the Mantis among the Cape Bushmen, but the latter is not the object of a grave cult, and this *Heitsi Eibib* primarily is. There is no being corresponding to him among the Northern Bushmen, although his name occurs, obviously as a borrowed element, in the *Heiseb* of the Heikum of Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga (among the former as that of a "bringer of blessings", among the latter as that of an "evil spirit"!), and possibly also in the *Hishe*, i.e. *Huwe*, of the Naron and Auen. Consequently this conception must be regarded as peculiar to the Hottentots.

The resemblances noted above are far-reaching, even when allowance is made for the by no means insignificant differences in detail. The Northern Bushmen especially seem to have many elements of religious belief virtually identical with those of the Hottentots. There has certainly been a good deal of mutual influence here, but the similarities not so much in detail as in general features are too numerous and too fundamental to be attributed solely to borrowing. Meticulous comparison must unfortunately be ruled out as at present inadvisable: we know far more about the religious system of the Hottentots than we do about that of the Bushmen, of which indeed the available information is so scanty that any elaborate discussion based on it can only be regarded as somewhat speculative. It can nevertheless be fairly confidently asserted that among both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots we find, in addition to the worship of the moon, the cult of mythical beings derived partly from animistic beliefs (*//Gaua*), and partly from the personification of the natural forces producing rain (*Tsui //Goab*, *Huwe*). It must be concluded therefore that both peoples have on the whole the same religious system, although there are obviously also considerable differences in detail which still have to be explained. The importance attaching to this community of beliefs is emphasized by the fact that this religious system differs essentially from that of the neighbouring Bantu.

The Southern Bushmen to some extent stand apart from the rest.

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776 Bushmen of the Orange Free State, where, as we have seen, Campbell
[192] mentions that the spirits attendant upon *Ko* (the Mantis) are called *Gauna*, and that after *Ko* has disappeared from the dance in which she was taking part, "her nymphs" also come and dance for a while. Nothing more is said about them, however.[1]

114 The problem now arises as to the real nature of these beings.
776 The information relating to them is sometimes vague, sometimes inconsistent, and at all times obviously inadequate. No interpretation of their nature can therefore be regarded as fully reliable until it has been confirmed by a much more careful and detailed study in the field than has yet been made of the beliefs and usages connected with them. Moreover, as we shall see subsequently, the conception
171 of *//gaua* also figures prominently among the Hottentots and
776 Bergdama, whose religious beliefs and practices in general offer other features of resemblance to those of the Bushmen. A comparison of the Bushman concepts on the one hand and those of the Hottentots and Bergdama on the other, may thus succeed in throwing further light upon the problem, the final consideration of which may therefore be delayed until the religions of these peoples have also been passed in review.

177 Certain points arise, however, which may at once be dealt with.
776 The notions of */khuba* among the Naron and Auen, and of *Dzimo* among the Hiechware, may be set aside in the attempt to ascertain the real nature of Bushman religious conceptions. They have admittedly been taken over from other peoples, the former from the Nama, the latter from the BeChwana. *Erob*, mentioned by Lebzelter
[797] as the name for the "Supreme Being" among the Western Kung and certain of the Heikum, is simply a corruption of the word *Elob*, from the Hebrew *Elohim*, which has been used by many missionaries among the Nama as a translation for "God".[2] Its occurrence among these Bushmen is therefore an obvious indication of Christian influence, entering either directly through the missionaries or, more probably, through contact with the Nama; and in this connection it must be remembered that almost all the Heikum now speak only

[1] *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 31–2.

[2] Pater Schmidt, in accepting Lebzelter's data as convincing evidence for the existence of a Supreme Being among the Bushmen, remarks about *Erob* ("Die alte Buschmann-Religion," 297, n. 4): "Wenn er christlichen Ursprungs sein soll, von Elob, aus Elohim, so darf man fragen, warum das Inlaut *-l* in *r* übergegangen wäre." To this it may be replied that the sound *l* does not occur at all in Nama, save in a few words taken over from European languages, and that in most borrowed words where it does occur the Nama form of the word replaces it by *r*. The transmutation of *Elob* into *Erob* therefore follows a definite law of phonetic change in Nama. Cf. on this point Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, pp. 18–19.

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turned back with cattle and all to the BeChwana, by whom they were murdered with assegais."[1] A thoroughly convincing proof!

Appendix

Comparative Note on Bushmen and Hottentot Religion

The analysis given above of Hottentot religious conceptions shows that in many respects they bear a striking resemblance to those of the Bushmen, although there are also considerable differences. Both peoples worship the Moon. The Southern Bushmen also have prayers to the sun and to various stars, which the Hottentots and most of the Northern Bushmen have not, but even here the worship of the Moon is far more developed than that of the other celestial bodies. This common feature is all the more significant since none of the Bantu peoples of South Africa pray to the Moon.

Neither Bushmen nor Hottentots, again, have any organized family or tribal ancestor worship, nor any form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated, although among the Southern Bushmen as well as among the Hottentots dead people are occasionally prayed to. In the beliefs of both peoples the dead are in some way connected with the stars, but it is held above all that dead people become mischievous ghosts, which in particular are the cause of sickness and death. Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots use some form of the word *//gaua* for these ghosts, although the Hottentots customarily speak of them as */hei /nun* and by certain other names as well. Among both peoples, moreover, the magicians are somehow in special contact with the ghosts, and consequently have the power to cure the illness caused by them. Certain of the North-Western Bushmen, however, believe also that the soul of a dead person, as distinguished from his ghost, goes to live with the being *Huwe* in a house in the sky, while the Southern Bushmen likewise speak of an afterworld to which dead people go, without, however, associating this afterworld with any supernatural being. These beliefs are apparently not found at all among the Hottentots.

Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots further use the word *//Gaua* as the name of a definitely personified being, closely connected with the ghosts of the dead. But here there is also a difference. The Hottentots regard *//Gaunab* primarily as an evil being,

[1] Op. cit., 122.

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who causes sickness or death. The Northern Bushmen likewise believe that he causes death, but do not seem to attach any special significance of evil to him, save where there has been Hottentot influence. He is associated by them more particularly with certain phenomena of nature, such as thunder and lightning, shooting stars, the wind, etc., so that Miss Bleek actually regards him as a personification of the wind and the storm, while Pater Schmidt looks upon him as an ancient sky god ("Himmelsgott").[1] Closer analysis shows, however, that the phenomena of nature regarded as manifestations of //*Gaua* by the Northern Bushmen are all looked upon primarily as mediums through which he inflicts misfortune and death; and similarly we find that among the Hottentots the whirlwind, the eclipse of the moon and the sun, the rainbow and the Aurora australis are all natural phenomena of ill omen specially connected with //*Gaunab*. Since the lightning is actually a frequent cause of death, while the other phenomena, such as comets, shooting stars and eclipses, are owing to their very nature readily regarded as ominous, it is perhaps not far-fetched to see in this the reason why they should have become specially connected with //*Gaua*, the cause of sickness and death.

The impression one gets, reviewing the evidence as a whole, is that among both the Hottentots and the Northern Bushmen the term //*Gaua* has several different references, which, however, are not consistently distinguished by the people themselves. Sometimes it is used for the ghost of a dead person, sometimes as a collective name for these ghosts, sometimes, again, in the sense of a personified being with various special attributes. The beliefs regarding //*Gaua*, in other words, are not crystallized into clear-cut conceptions, but are vague, inconsistent, and ambiguous. Consequently those interpretations based solely upon the conception of //*Gaua* as a personified being must be rejected as one-sided and obviously inadequate. If any special interpretation is to be sought, and in the light of our present knowledge there is none which can be advanced with full confidence, the most fruitful approach would seem to be that //*Gaua* must be regarded as a vague conception founded upon the beliefs about the fate of the dead and the ways in which the latter can affect the living society.

//*Gaunab* in Hottentot mythology is in conflict with *Tsui* //*Goab*, the creator, the guardian of health, the source of prosperity and

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124; W. Schmidt, "Die alte Buschmann-Religion," 295.

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abundance, and above all the controller of the rain and its associated phenomena of clouds, thunder, and lightning. *Tsui //Goab* appears to be essentially the personification of the natural forces producing the rain, and as the rain god he is the object of a special cult. In all this he resembles closely the being variously known as *Huwe*, *Hishe*, *Erob* or *Thora* by the Northern Bushmen, and as *Cagn*, the Mantis, by the Bushmen of Basutoland. *Huwe*, too, is the creator, he controls the rain, thunder, and lightning, he is the source of abundance and of good luck in hunting, the protector of his people from illness and danger, and to him are directed the ceremonies and prayers for rain, food, recovery from illness, etc.

But among certain of the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also dwells in a house in the sky where he receives the souls of the dead. This belief is apparently not found at all among the Hottentots, nor has it been recorded of the other Bushman tribes. It is also held, however, in what appears to be a far more elaborate form, by the Bergdama. Among this people we meet with the conception of *//Gamab*, whose name Vedder derives from the root *//gami*, "water," and whom he regards as "originally the god of the rising clouds and of thunder and fountains". *//Gamab* is the only supernatural being of whom the Bergdama speak. He is the source of life and death, abundance of food, etc., and he lives in "heaven" in a village where he gathers about him the souls of the departed. The Bergdama trace out in great detail the movements of the soul from the moment of death till its arrival in *//Gamab's* village, and the life led there is minutely described.[1] In view of the fact that this particular series of beliefs and its associated rites appear to be the central feature of Bergdama religion, are entirely absent from the Hottentots, and occur in a much-attenuated form only among certain North-Western Bushman tribes who have been much in contact with the Bergdama, one feels justified in assuming that the connection of *Huwe* with a "sky dwelling" to which go the souls of the deceased can be definitely attributed to Bergdama influence.

Among the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also figures in the boys' puberty ceremonies, whereas among the Hottentots neither *Tsui //Goab* nor any other supernatural being is in any way connected with these ceremonies. Here we have an important distinction, and one which must further be correlated with the fact that the Southern Bushmen do not appear to have any puberty ceremonies at all for

[1] Vedder, *Die Bergdama*, i, 97 sqq.; *idem*, "The Berg Damara," 61 sqq.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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They share with their Northern relatives and with the Hottentots the cult of the moon and several beliefs concerning the dead and natural phenomena, and the conception of the Mantis among the Basutoland Bushmen can possibly be linked up with that of *Huwe* among the Northern tribes. But the beliefs centring in the Mantis among the Cape Bushmen have no parallel further north, nor, on the other hand, do they seem to have anything exactly corresponding to either *Huwe* or *//Gaua*. Their mythology, again, is far more elaborate than that of the Hottentots, which in turn is more developed than that of the Northern Bushmen. Underlying these superficial, but unquestionably significant, differences, there is of course a great deal of fundamental similarity, as we have had occasion to note in our discussion of Bushman religion. As far as present indications go, it seems evident that while we can safely speak of one religious system common to all the Bushmen and Hottentots, we must also distinguish between the Southern Bushmen on the one hand and the Northern Bushmen and Hottentots on the other, and that a further distinction must be made in certain respects between the two latter. A good deal of further research in the field is still necessary, however, before we can finally disentangle borrowed elements from specifically local developments. The fact still remains that no really satisfactory account is available of the religion of any single Bushman tribe or of the Hottentots.